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THE

HISTORY

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OF

S T. D O M I N G O.

BY J. BROWN, M. D.

HUMAN AFFAIRS ARE IN NO INSTANCE GOVERNED BY STRICT POSITIVE
RIGHT.—*Junius.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.



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PREFACE.

DURING a residence of more than a year in St. Domingo, in the course of 1833-34, I availed myself of the opportunity that my situation and leisure afforded, to collect the most authentic intelligence of that island's eventful history, as well as to investigate the condition and operation of things under the present dynasty of the blacks.

Having gathered together these materials, I have deemed it not unadvisable to communicate to the public the result of my labors. I was the more inclined to such a step, as but little is accurately known in the United States of the early progress of that brilliant French colony, or of the train of events, all dependent upon each other, which gradually brought on the fierce struggle of the Revolution, terminating in the death or expulsion of the whites, and the emancipation and independence of the blacks.

I have confined myself, throughout, to a simple recital of facts, having no system of politics to establish, more than a decided penchant for order, humanity and moral principle.

In my account of the earlier fortunes of the Spanish colony of Hispaniola, I have closely followed Mr. Washington Irving, in his *Life of Columbus*—conscious that I could add nothing to the extent or accuracy of his historical facts.

I have adhered to the elaborate work of Moreau de St. Mery for most of the incidents appertaining to the

French colony previously to the Revolution; and for an account of the troublous times immediately succeeding that epoch, I have consulted a host of French authors, few or none of whom seem to me to possess much merit except Dalmas, whose history extends to the burning of Cape François and the emancipation of the blacks; and Lacroix, who, in his excellent work upon the expedition to St. Domingo under General Leclerc, combines the merit of an accurate observer of the scenes around him, together with that of one of the most elegant of narrators.

For intelligence of the time subsequent to the Emperor Dessalines, I found myself compelled to rely, chiefly, upon tradition, or, at least, the oral accounts of those who were actors in the scenes they described; as the few pretended documents that have survived the fierce wars of Christophe and Petion are so wretched in their nature that it would be folly to depend upon them as materials for history.

I might add, that a moral is perhaps to be drawn by us from the events here described; namely, that political abuses are sooner or later repaid by popular vengeance; and that we should not, by ignorant or unnecessary legislation, disturb that arrangement of the social order under which experience has assured us that our national prosperity is safe.

Greenland, June 15, 1836.

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HISTORY OF ST. DOMINGO.

CHAPTER I.

Geographical position of St. Domingo—appearance of its coast—mountains—plains—rivers—boundaries of the French territory—lakes—the cacique Henriquillo—harbours—anecdotes of Tiburon—appearance of the interior—geological formation—extensive inland prairies—climate—land and sea breezes—dry land-wind—earthquakes—arrival of the Spaniards and the establishment of fort Navidad—its destruction—settlement of Isabella—Indian hostilities—establishment of Santo Domingo—Roldan's sedition—administrations of Bovadilla and Ovando—subjugation of the Indians—administration of Diego Columbus—internal agitations—Las Casas—introduction of negroes—first negro rebellion—sources of the colony's decay—conquest of Santo Domingo by Drake—expedition of Newport—buccaneers—western part abandoned by the Spaniards.

THE island of St. Domingo lies between Cuba on the northwest, Porto Rico on the southeast, and Jamaica on the southwest. Its nearest approach to either of these islands is at its northwestern extremity, which stretches into a long and narrow peninsula, at the farthest point of which, called the Mole St. Nicholas, there is situated a town, which is twelve leagues distant from the most southeastern extremity of Cuba.

Ships from the United States or from Europe usually approach the island by its northern coast; particularly that part of it which lies in the immediate vicinity of two prominent headlands, which arise bold and mountainous from the country around them, and project far into the ocean which washes their base. One of these, which is called Cape Isabella, was the spot selected by the Spaniards whereon to establish their first permanent settlement in the new world; though they afterwards abandoned it from the superior attractiveness of the southern coast.

The outline of the coast is every where imposing and magnificent. There is ever the same continuous succession of bald, rounded summits of limestone mountains, now running high and precipitous to the very water's

edge, and then retreating farther into the interior, with a long slope of green impervious underwood or tall grass intervening between the mountains and the shore. But the spectator from the vessel's deck is afforded but a faint and unsatisfactory glimpse of the natural exuberance which he has been taught to expect in a land so famed for its fertility. He finds nothing in the whole sweep of his vision but mountain piled against mountain, the bald, clayey elevations of which have all the dreariness without the magnificence of Alpine scenery; and while they are lashed by tropical tempests or stand burning and quivering in the hot sunshine, they form a picture of desolation which withers the very soul; and this is the very coast that rose before the eyes of Columbus.

A nearer approach landward soon begins to disclose, amidst the numerous projections of cape and headland which shoot in coral reefs far under the surface of the tranquil sea, a multitude of picturesque openings into the interior, through which are seen plains which sweep far inland, covered thickly with a crowded mass of vegetation; among which may be distinguished lofty forest trees, which shoot up to a vast height above the thickets which surround their root; groves of bamboo or mangrove bushes which hover along the shore—and now and then a smoke that curls up among the trees, denoting the existence of human habitations.

The island, as seen from any direction, seems in the distance a mere concourse of barren mountains. There is ever the same unvarying outline of conical elevations and high insulated peaks, which are so numerous and crowded upon one another as to form a continuous ridge. In the interior the traveller finds himself shut up and lost amidst a maze of mountain summits, which arise around him without order and without end, shutting in his gaze on every side by inaccessible heights, which contract the horizon to a mere vista upwards.

The loftier peaks are grouped in distinct lines, which run parallel with the sea shore from the Mole St. Nicholas to Cape Isabella on the northern coast, and from Cape Tiburon to Cape Beate on that of the south. The latter, which are called the mountains of La Hotte, are the highest elevations in the island. Their acclivity com-

mences at the distance of a few miles from the sea shore on the southern coast, and their highest peaks attain an elevation of nearly seven thousand feet above the ocean at their base. They divide the waters of the Caribbean sea from those of the Bight of Leogane for the distance of two hundred miles along that coast, to Cape Beate, the most southern extremity of the island. From this cape the direction of the chain is turned northward in a zigzag course across the island, until it terminates at Monte Christe, a place midway on the northern coast. There is a central mass of mountain summits which spreads barrenness and desolation over an immense extent of the interior, and from it all the different chains and spurs of mountains seem to diverge and pass off to diversify the surface of the whole island. These are the mountains of Cibao, so famed for the golden hopes which they offered to the early Spaniards of Hispaniola. They are an immense group of high, bald, limestone summits, huddled together in untraceable confusion, as if some tremendous convulsion had torn the whole region from its foundation, and scattered it in disjointed fragments around, in masses proportioned to the fearful energies of the shock.

Between these different mountain ridges there are immense tracts of level country, which extend for hundreds of miles, crowded as they are with a vast wilderness of vegetation. They are immense alluvions, formed by the gradual disintegration of the neighboring mountain sides, and their deep, fat soil, acted upon by the prolific influence of a sun that is always vertical, teems with a productiveness that is most exuberant. The larger extensions of level country are denominated plains, while those of less extent, but which are still in a state of primitive wildness, are called savannas. Of the former class is the great plain of the Vega, which spreads from the mountains of Cibao to the eastern extremity of the island. Here was the scene of the earliest planting in the island, and here still exist the remains of many Spanish towns, once the flourishing residences of that people who led the van of European emigration to America. Near the head-waters of the river Yuna and under the eastern declivity of the mountains of Cibao, stands the ancient town of Vega, built by Columbus himself on the

spot where an Indian cacique once held his capital, and ruled in "naked majesty."

In the plain of Santiago, near the northern coast of the island, is the inland city of Santiago de los Cavellos, with an appellation worthy of Homer. It was here that the stately Hidalgos of the Spanish colony held their residence at a suitable distance from their plantations in the Vega on the one hand, and from the mercantile transactions of the sea coast on the other. All claiming to be patricians they would not defile their place of abode with the toils and vulgarities of business, and they spent life swinging in their hammocks and reclining indolently under a perpetual cloud of tobacco smoke. After the treaty of Basle had ceded to France the Spanish territory of St. Domingo, the inhabitants of Santiago, as of the whole Spanish part of the island, quitted their ancient homes to seek others in places which still remained to the Spanish crown, and since that epoch the city of Santiago has been but a waste of untenanted and ruinous habitations.

Upon the southeastern coast of the island there is a wide range of level country, where the Spanish population was once chiefly clustered, and many towns still exist with sufficient magnificence in their ruins to attest the wealth and luxury which were once enjoyed in that part before the fortunes of the Spanish colony had become extinct. Westward, within the territory of the French part of the island, besides a multitude of scattered tracts of smooth country, there are four considerable plains, those namely of Cape François in the north—of the river Artibonite and the Cul de Sac in the west, and of Aux Cayes in the south.

Most of the rivers are but empty ravines in the dry season, and during the continuance of the periodical rains are swollen to overflowing; sweeping every thing before them in their furious course to the sea. Some, however, are of a size which, were it not for their frequent rapids, from the great inclination of the soil over which they have their course, would render them navigable far into the country. The first in size is the Yuna, which originating in the mountains of Cibao winds through the plain of the Vega, and empties into the bay of Samana at the eastern extremity of the island. The next is the Artibonite, which

flows west, and near the middle of its course receives a branch large as itself, and swollen by the confluence makes its embouchure into the Bight of Leogane after a winding course of three hundred miles. A large river flows into the sea on the northern coast, just below Mansanilla bay. This is the Santiago, or Rio del Oro of Columbus, and the scene of many a fierce adventure. The Neybe is a large river which flows into the sea on the southern coast, and eastward of it upon the same coast there are three other rivers, which empty themselves into the Caribbean sea—the Nisao, the Higüey and the Ozama, upon the banks of which stands the city of Santo Domingo, once the metropolis of the American world, but now a city of palaces, with scarcely an inhabitant but the sluggish negro, lounging in abodes which the haughty Spaniard erected not for such a use. The surface of the island is every where diversified by smaller streams, the numbers of which justify the truth of Columbus's description, "that every valley and glen has its stream of water."

The French territory of St. Domingo was but a strip of country extending across the broad and indented western coast, which, leaving out of calculation the two prongs that form the sides of the Bight of Leogane, did not exceed thirty miles in depth. An exception, however, obtained in the northern part, as on that coast the French settlements extended to the extreme eastern part of the plain of Cape Francois, more than one hundred miles from the Mole St. Nicholas.

Southeastward of the town of Port au Prince, and on the confines of the Spanish territory, there are two salt water lakes of considerable extent. One of them, which is a broad sheet of water, is the ancient Xaragua, though it was named by the Spaniards in later times, Henriquillo from the following fact:

Among the Indian caciques burnt alive by Ovando at Leogane were the father and grandfather of a young Indian who had been baptized under the name of Henry, afterwards changed, through the peculiarity of the Spanish language, to the diminutive Henriquillo, or little Henry. He had been educated by the Franciscans of Santa Maria de la Paz Real, near Leogane, but he was subsequently included in the repartimiento, or portion

of Indian slaves falling to the share of a Spaniard, named Valencuela, of that place. His education and the kind treatment he had received at the convent, joined to the free and indolent habits of his race, made the endurance of slavery a condition of horror to the young Indian; particularly when the son of Valencuela added to the poignancy of his miseries by inflicting upon him every species of insult and unkindness. To escape from this two-fold source of wretchedness, slavery and cruelty, Henriquillo fled to the woods, and in those wild solitudes where his ancestors had been all-powerful, the young cacique gathered to his standard a band of his countrymen, who were flying from the same oppressions as those which had goaded their native chief to abandon his master. All the attempts of Valencuela to recapture Henriquillo were skilfully eluded or fiercely resisted. The young cacique's party had a daily increase from the continual desertion of Indian slaves belonging to other repartimientos, until Henriquillo saw himself in a condition to set at open defiance the feeble resources of the Spanish authorities in that remote part of the island. An obstinate petty warfare was the consequence, in the course of which the life of Henriquillo was checkered by a thousand diversities of success and misfortune, and he persisted in maintaining his independent and hostile attitude for a period of fourteen years. In the year 1532 he was in sufficient strength to make incursions not only upon the Spanish settlements in his immediate neighborhood, but to set out upon a distant expedition against the Spaniards of Caracol, upon the northern coast of the island. Finding hostilities of no avail in subduing the untractable character of this rebellion, the Spanish government of the colony resolved to have recourse to negotiation to procure the restoration of peace and tranquility to the best portion of the island under its jurisdiction, and power was granted to Francisco de Borrio Nuevo, the lately appointed governor of Golden Castile, to hold a conference with Henriquillo, in order to make some arrangement for the cessation of the war. Borrio Nuevo, having had an interview with the admiral, Don Luis Columbus, and with the authorities of Santo Domingo, sailed from that port to proceed on his mission. Landing

at Aquin he penetrated into the wilderness: crossing the mountains of La Hotte, and directing his course northeasterly, he traversed a wild and trackless extent of country, until at last he came to the shores of a large lake, where he found the warlike cacique and his followers encamped. The Spaniard was received with respect, and the overtures of peace, of which he was the bearer, were promptly accepted by Henriquillo. A treaty was soon adopted, much to the advantage of the young Indian, and Borrio Nuevo, ignorant as he was that the lake before him was the real Xaragua, re-baptized it out of honor to the Indian chief who was now his friend, and proceeding to Jacmel he sailed from that harbor for Santo Domingo. Henriquillo proceeded by land to that city, where a definitive arrangement was concluded between him and the Spanish authorities. Henriquillo was permitted to choose a place of residence for himself and his followers. He was acknowledged hereditary prince of the latter, and was to be forever exempted from tribute, on the single condition that he did homage to the representatives of the emperor who were in the island. A little time after, he retired with his followers to a place called Bahia, situated northeast of the city of Santo Domingo, where, as far as it is known, he died in the full enjoyment of liberty and his native independence—leaving his name to the lake upon the shores of which he had maintained his long hostilities, while his name and memory were preserved in many a subsequent legend of the province.*

The northeastern coast of St. Domingo is but thinly inhabited, and the facilities for approaching its rugged shores are few and dangerous. Midway between Monte Christe and Cape Isabella is situated the harbor of Porto Plata, and within this harbor there is a small Spanish town whence small exportations are made of tobacco and mahogany. After proceeding westward beyond Mansanilla bay, the boundaries of the ancient French territory are passed, and here a multitude of harbors and small maritime towns are discovered. Fort Dauphin, now, in better accordance with the new system of things,

* Moreau de St. Mery.

called Fort Liberté, was the scene of many a fierce struggle for the possession of its frontier situation, between the hostile parties of the Spaniards and buccaneers. The bay of Caracol comes next, where the caravels of Columbus were shipwrecked in his first voyage, and the place of the establishment and subsequent disaster of Fort Navidad. Then comes next in order Cape Haytien, the ancient Cape François, now greatly dwindled from its former greatness, but once the opulent rival of Havana itself. The bay of Acul, Port de Paix, the ancient capital of the French colony, and the Mole St. Nicholas, the natural Gibraltar of the Antilles, are successively passed in coasting along, and last but not least, comes the great Bight of Leogane, with its wide expanse of smooth water reflecting from its glassy surface the beams of a vertical sun, or glittering with phosphorescent ripples in the calmness of the starlight. At the extreme depth of this bay lies the town of Port au Prince, and scattered along its sides are the towns of Gonaives, St. Marks, Leogane, Petit Goave, and Jeremie.

The southern coast is less forbidding than that of the north, and is better furnished with inlets and harbours to render an approach safe and easy. Proceeding westward from Santo Domingo, one arrives in succession at the old Spanish towns of Nisao, Baini, Candelaria, and Azua, which is upon the bay of Ocoa. After Cape Beate is passed, the French towns of Jacmel, Aquin, St. Louis and Aux Cayes are left behind in succession, until at last the voyager reaches the most southwesterly point of the island, and enters the harbor of Cape Tiburon.

This place, from its remote situation and the conveniences of its harbour, became at a very early period the favorite resort of piratical adventurers. It was here that the famous buccaneer chief, Pierre of Dieppe, landed the vice admiral and crew of a Spanish galleon which he had been hardy enough to attack; and notwithstanding a vast disparity in the relative strength of the two armaments, he succeeded in capturing almost within sight of this harbor. Pierre proceeded to the attack in an open boat, with but twenty-eight men and four small cannon; and while his associates were climbing up the sides of the huge vessel, he gave secret orders to the

surgeon to bore a hole in the bottom of the boat and sink it. The Spaniards, unconscious of the danger that was so near, were surprised and vanquished almost without a struggle.

The fleet of admiral Vernon made its rendezvous at Tiburon while on the expedition against Carthagena in 1741; and it was to this place also that the miserable remains of that armament returned to mourn in sadness the fate of so many of their comrades, who had been smitten by a pestilence which has but few parallels in history.

In the year 1744, a French corsair, called *Le Balanqué*, having captured off the island a London vessel with a cargo of immense value, entered the harbor of Tiburon to divide the spoil. Guns were fired through the day to manifest the joy of the pirates at the capture of a prize sufficient to enrich them all. But of all rejoicing, that over ill-gotten treasure is the most inauspicious. The noise of the firing drew the attention of a French cruiser off the harbor, and the pirates were driven from their booty with the loss of their own vessel, which was burnt by the cruiser.

According to tradition, the first inhabitant of Tiburon was an old Frenchman, whose name was Devineau, who established himself there about the year 1745. He was the owner of a boat, and went from inlet to inlet to sell tafia.* Having, by following this traffic, gained a sufficiency to purchase three negroes, he proceeded to open a clearing and establish a plantation of his own. For a bed he had four stakes driven into the ground, upon which was stretched an ox-hide. Planks nailed upon stakes formed his table, and all his other appointments corresponded. But the aptness of the climate and soil, together with an indefatigable industry, enabled this rigid economist to bequeath to his successors an estate of a million and a half of livres. Such was his success in agriculture that the negroes ascribed his extraordinary gains to magic. They for many years held his name in deep veneration, and whenever a drought prevailed in the country, they asserted that should the bones of Devineau be taken from the church and carried in solemn procession, fertility would be restored to the district.

* *Aguardiente*, the mean rum of the country.

During the war of 1756, Tiburón, though furnished with but six small cannon, and in a wretched state of defence, maintained a stout battle against an English frigate which had entered the harbor to cut out some transports which were on their way with reinforcements to St. Jago de Cuba. Both the attack and the defence were long and furious, but the action eventuated in the defeat of the English with great slaughter. During the continuance of the French colony, from the exposed situation and almost universal notoriety of Tiburón, the inhabitants were chiefly those accustomed to brave fortune and maintain themselves by the sword; and while they themselves were artillerists they made even their negroes soldiers.

The interior of the island is marked with a thousand varieties of sylvan beauty, gorgeously flowering or green with perennial verdure. Amidst wooded hills and bald and furrowed mountain peaks, spacious tracts of level country spread themselves over a wide extent, and are strewn with the very prodigality of vegetation. The wild glens and rich bottoms are true flower gardens, where nature decks herself unseen, and mocks at the meagre effects of the very highest cultivation, when it is bestowed under circumstances less favorable to productiveness. Those plants and shrubs which are natives of the tropics, and which in our colder atmosphere cannot be reared but by artificial cultivation, here spring up spontaneously, and attain a degree of luxuriance unknown to them in less natural situations. The traveller at every short interval of his progress meets with a stream of cool, clear water, that winds its way between banks of wild flowers to irrigate extensive tracts of rich soil, teeming with a thousand varieties of rank vegetation. These Arcadian scenes are from time to time replaced by those of bold and startling magnificence. The traveller, placed for instance, at a noted mountain defile, called the Coupe de Plaisance, looks with indescribable sensations at the immensity of every thing around him. Mountains, with all their rocks and precipices, seem piled upon others equally abrupt and precipitous, or split from their summit to their base to form chasms which seem immeasurable. The mind is crushed back upon itself, and man, amidst

such vast magnificence, feels himself an atom plodding his obscure way through immensity, and content to hide his weakness in insignificance itself. Amidst this maze of mountain scenery the cataract of Grande Riviere raises the deafening chorus of its waters, as they tumble from crag to crag to arrive at the bottom of the steep declivity.

It is among these mountain districts that, during the season of rain, immense masses are detached from their sloping position, and glide fearfully, with all their woods and rocks, into new situations. This has been known to happen without the least rupture in the body itself of the avalanche, and without injury committed upon the regions in its neighborhood. But it is not always thus harmlessly that such immense phenomena take place. The avalanche is sometimes made into the bed of a river, the course of which is changed, and the surrounding low country laid under water. It is sometimes even more calamitous, and flocks, herds and negroes are buried under the huge mass which has overwhelmed the whole neighborhood. The aspect of the landscape is changed. Old springs are dried up, and new ones open themselves. Wet, swampy lands become dry, and elevated situations become swamps. Salubrious places become abodes of disease, and the reverse, and the immense disruption seems to have operated a change upon the fixedness of nature itself. No where are the marks and ravages of time and the violence of tropical tempests shown so manifestly as upon the perishable material of these mountain masses; as the disjointed and broken precipices, the unfathomable chasms, and the multitude of winding caverns, all testify.

Like all the islands in the West Indian Archipelago, the formation of St. Domingo is chiefly calcareous, intermixed occasionally with red sand-stone, and beds of marl and salt. In the mountains there are found porphyry, serpentine, talc and freestone. The heights surrounding Cape Haytien afford pudding-stone, marine deposits, and in former times small quantities of copper and iron are said to have been found there. There is a very good sort of marble found in some places, and in the southern mountains there are quantities of puzzolana earth; and between the different strata of calcareous deposits, there

exist immense caverns. Mineral springs abound every where, and at a spot called Port a Piment, there still exist the ruins of commodious residences, baths and shaded promenades, where the infirm and gay among the ancient French colonists spent the more unhealthy months of the year.

In the wilderness of the interior the wide plains are often found destitute of trees for leagues in extent, if we except the occasional occurrence of an oasis of mahogany or wild fig-trees, that redeem a small spot from the parching fervency of the continual sunshine. These plains, like the prairies of our own country, are overgrown with a species of tall grass, and filled with wild animals—hogs, goats, horses and cattle—which, imported into the island by the original Spaniards, were left by them to breed in the woods, where, favored by climate and abundance of provision, their numbers have augmented to such extent as has afforded an unexhausted source of game from the time of the Buccaneers to the present.

The climate of St. Domingo is of course that of the torrid zone, but the heat is modified, not only by the very strong influence impressed upon its temperature by the surrounding ocean, but by a thousand local peculiarities of mountain and plain, latitude and degree of exposure to the sun's rays. All attendant circumstances being the same, the heat is never so great as on the same meridian upon the continent of America. The mean heat throughout the year might be assumed at 85° of Fahrenheit within those situations least subjected to cooling influences. But upon the highest elevations of the mountains of La Hotte it is said that the negroes from Africa could not at first endure the severity of the cold. However the thermometrical indications of temperature may be, the heat is rendered endurable and pleasant by the temperating influence of the sea-breeze. This usually begins to make itself felt at about 9 o'clock in the morning, and it goes on gradually augmenting in strength until 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when it often blows with great force, bringing with it a freshness and moisture from the ocean, which most powerfully counteracts the parching, enervating influence of a glowing vertical sun. All persons now throw open their heated apartments, and give them-

selves to the luxurious indulgence of sitting or reclining in a current of this delightful wind, which continues to blow, though with less violence, until sunset, when there is a period of sultry oppressive calmness, to be succeeded within an hour by a wind that blows dry and cool from the land, and is felt with more or less force through the night, till another calm takes place, to continue through the morning. This is the common course of things, though from time to time this agreeable vicissitude is replaced by occurrences less conducive to the comfort of the inhabitants. Occasionally from November to April the northeast trade-winds sweep so fiercely along the shores of the island as to break up this regularity in the succession of land and sea-breezes. Then there occurs what is called a Norther—a wind that much resembles, in its sensation and effects, the dry land-winds of India, or a tramontane at Naples. During its continuance every thing is dry, parched and dusty, and every body ill at ease, and filled with catarrhs, cramps and rheumatisms. In every place there is the same unvarying picture of bleak, dreary desolation. The sky, instead of the usual softness and delicacy of its tints, has a hard, cold aspect of wintriness. The air is filled to suffocation with clouds of fine dust, in which the sun's rays are refracted into a thousand brilliant hues, that glitter for a moment and pass slowly away to the westward. Every house is closely shut, and its inmates crowd themselves into every corner that affords a shelter from the pervading influence of this pernicious wind. It does not continue long. After a few days the hazy clouds that hang over the northeastern horizon sweep over and disappear in the southwest—and the sun brings in its ascent the usual sea-breeze to revive the usual gladdening appearance of the landscape.

The seasons are divided into the rainy and dry. The rains begin sometime in April, and continue to fall, in occasional showers, till October, when they begin to decline, and in December the dry season has fairly commenced. During its continuance the fields and woods lose in a great measure the vivid appearance of their verdure, and put on a more russet and dull aspect. The

leaves fall from some of the trees, and all vegetation stands still till the return of the season of showers.

During the prevalence of the latter is the time when earthquakes commonly happen. Though hardly a season passes over without the occurrence of one or more shocks, none has been so peculiarly disastrous in its effects as that which happened on the 3d of June, 1770, and which nearly annihilated the towns of Port au Prince and Aux Cayes. An intense heat is said to have preceded it, and a thick, suffocating atmosphere attended it. A rushing noise, as of subterraneous currents of air, continued to be heard at intervals, while shock followed shock during a period of fifteen days. The earth gaped in horrid fissures, and amidst the terrible convulsion the greater part of the town of Port au Prince was engulfed in the sea. It is a peculiarity of these phenomena that they always occur at that particular epoch of the season when the periodical rains are at their height. This would seem to give confirmation to the received opinion that they are caused by the conversion of the water that falls in such torrents into immense quantities of steam within deep subterranean caverns below the surface of the island. Certain it is, that formerly if not at present, there were subterranean noises heard along the plain of Port au Prince like the distant lowings of a bull, even when no earthquake was in occurrence.* This sound was so frequently heard and well known as to be designated by the term, *le gouffre*.

A phenomenon that occurs during the height of the dry season, merits a notice, as being the best of all substitutes for a veritable volcano. This is a spontaneous fire which burns upon the sides and summits of the mountains. It rages and spreads among the parched herbage of the inaccessible mountain tops. How these fires originate no one professes to know. They are doubtlessly enkindled by the sun's rays drawn to act in a concentrated manner upon a mass of vegetation dried to a requisite degree of inflammability. Once enkindled the fire spreads rapidly among so many materials to assist its progress. In the darkness of the night the spectacle is glorious. The whole horizon of mountain is lit up with lurid flames, and the high and jagged outline grows fearfully red against the

* Raynal.

distant heavens. It seems some immense conflagration raging in its course of destruction, belching forth its huge eddies of smoke, and flinging around its startling gleams of red, baleful light on sky, earth and air,—the awful portraiture of not one, but twenty volcanoes in full eruption.

The first settlement made by civilized man in St. Domingo, or in the new world, was in what has since been called the bay of Caracol, on the northern coast of the island. In this bay Columbus had the misfortune to lose one of his caravels on the night of the 24th of December, 1492. One of the three vessels which composed his fleet had not been heard of for some days, and the only caravel which now remained to the admiral was insufficient to contain both its crew and that of the shipwrecked vessel. In this dilemma the admiral determined to leave a party of his men on the island to await his return. A fort was built of the wreck of the caravel, and named Fort Navidad: the garrison of which was left under the command of Don Diego de Arana, and Columbus sailed for Spain.

Arana soon found it beyond his means to maintain a due subordination among such lawless spirits as composed his garrison. They were not only deaf to his warnings and commands, but they soon set his authority at defiance, and scattered themselves over the country, the natives of which they exasperated against them by a thousand acts of profligacy and injustice. They were watched by a warlike Carib chieftain, who had the penetration to dread this encroachment of white men into a land which had been in the secure and independent possession of its native race through so many successive generations. Assisted or countenanced by a few other caciques, Caonabo approached the little fort of Navidad by night, surrounded it with his forces, set it on fire, and put to death every one of the Spaniards.

A few months after this catastrophe the second expedition of Columbus arrived at Hispaniola, the vessels of which were filled with fifteen hundred adventurers, who had been allured to the newly discovered world by the glowing and exaggerated accounts of its wealth and magnificence that were now circulating in every part of Spain. There were aboard the fleet all things that might be required to form a settlement in a new and unknown

land. Domestic animals, fowls, and the seeds of fruits and vegetables had been sent out, that the richness of the soil might be made immediately available to the resources of Spain. But the dismantled fort of Navidad and the festering bodies around it were sad spectacles that chilled the ardor and sanguine hopes of the Spaniards. Grieved for the fate of his companions, though not disheartened at the event, Columbus proceeded in search of a new situation whereon to plant his colony. The spot selected was in the plain of Santiago, as that of Navidad was in the plain of Cape Francois. It was chosen for its vicinity to the mountains of Cibao, then the Ophir of golden promise to the Spanish adventurers. The site of a future town was marked out, and the admiral named it Isabella, in honor of the amiable queen who had ever been the chief advocate of his great enterprize. The walls of the town and the buildings of state were soon finished, and high mass was said for the first time in a church of the new world.

But man can never change the home of his nativity to tenant the wilderness of another climate, without encountering physical difficulties, which by their influence on his natural energies and the integrity of his being, subject him to evils he did not anticipate. The upturning of the virgin soil developed disease, and the minds of the Spaniards were depressed by disappointment and thoughts of their distant home. They found not in their new abode the facilities for sudden wealth which they had so fondly doated upon, and but little of that gold whose magic had led them through a formidable navigation to the regions of another hemisphere. They began to accuse Columbus for thus leading them to their destruction, and loudly demanded permission to return to Spain. The bickerings of the moment were, however, appeased, and Columbus, to employ their restlessness, made an expedition to explore the interior of the island. It soon reached the mountains of Cibao, and Columbus set immediately about constructing a fort to secure that important region to the throne of his sovereign. The fort, which was a little stockade built of mud and logs, was named St. Thomas, and given in charge to Pedro Margarite and fifty-six men. To Margarite and Don Alonzo de Ojeda

orders were subsequently given to explore the island still farther—and Columbus sailed from Hispaniola to prosecute his discoveries among the neighboring islands.

Margarite and his followers, instead of obeying the commands of the admiral, scattered themselves over the rich plain of the Vega, quartered themselves upon their Indian purveyors, and repaid the most devoted kindness by acts of profligacy and crime, which soon banished every particle of friendship from the bosoms of the Indians. The latter, though a patient and gentle race, were soon goaded by a treatment of such studied cruelty to a point beyond which endurance was no longer possible. The cacique of a large Indian town in the Vega put to death ten Spaniards who had quartered themselves upon him, and outraged his hospitality by acts of the most insulting licentiousness. He followed up his success by setting fire to a house in which forty-six Spaniards were lodged, and even besieged a small fortress which had been established in the Vega, and called by the Spaniards La Magdalena.

Occasion was eagerly taken of these partial successes by the stern and suspicious Caonabo. He flew from cacique to cacique to form an alliance of the natives against the intruding Spaniards, and his exertions were soon successful in mustering an army of ten thousand men, with which he immediately invested the fortress of St. Thomas. But a post situated as that was upon the high bluff of a river, and commanded by such a man as the intrepid and sagacious Ojeda, would have little to apprehend from a horde of naked savages, armed only with bows and arrows. Terrified by the furious sallies made every day by the Spaniards, and despairing of success over such formidable opponents, the Indians soon stole off to their homes, and the little garrison of the fortress were thus left free to resume their communications with the settlement of Isabella.

Famine and sickness were still in formidable activity at the latter place, when another expedition arrived from Spain, in four ships, under the command of Antonio Torres. In this there was much to minister to the immediate wants, and furnish supplies to the ulterior growth of the settlement. There were provisions, medi-

cines and physicians, and what was of more consequence—mechanics and husbandmen. The inveterate and enterprising Caonabo was no longer a source of dread to the colony. Alonzo de Ojeda had played off a chivalrous joke, which placed that formidable naked warrior in the power of Columbus. But the brother of that chieftain, during the next year, 1495, roused the Indians to new hostilities, in order to gain a riddance of the odious intruders on their territory, and the admiral felt the imperious necessity of making them feel the whole weight of the Spanish power, in order to secure the future tranquillity of the colony. With his whole disposable force, which, however, so great had been the ravages of sickness and despair, did not exceed two hundred infantry, twenty cavalry, and as many dogs, Columbus marched to encounter the hordes of the enemy. He came up with them in the plain of the Vega, where to the number of one hundred thousand they were ranged in battle array. The attack immediately commenced on the part of the Spaniards, and had hardly begun before the issue of the battle was decided. Affrighted at the onset of the cavalry, and bewildered at the invisible causes of death that were felling their warriors on every side, the Indians fled with yells and howlings, or thrust themselves forward to implore the clemency of their conquerors. The Indians were completely subdued; nor, as a consequence of their hostilities, was their condition left unchanged. Columbus determined to make the misfortune of the natives an occasion for imposing a tribute, to augment the revenues of the new colony. Those of the mountains of Cibao and the plain of the Vega, over the age of fourteen, were required to pay individually, every three months, the measure of three hawk's bells of gold dust, and the cacique of Cibao had to deliver half a calabash of gold, amounting to one hundred and fifty pezos. Those districts in which there was no gold were required to pay an arroba of cotton every three months.

While these arrangements were in progress, a Spaniard returned to Isabella from the southern coast of the island, whither he had strayed, and where he had become enamoured of an Indian girl who resided in that quarter. The latter, to allure her lover to remain permanently with

her, told him of the superiority of that part of the island, of its mines of gold, which was so much valued by his countrymen, and of its much greater salubrity than the sickly fens around the vicinity of Isabella; and urged the removal of the Spaniards to a residence on that more favored coast. The Spaniard reported these things to the admiral, who was now on the eve of his departure for Spain, and had placed the government of the colony in the hands of his brother, Don Bartholomew Columbus. The latter was immediately ordered by the admiral to explore that part of the island during his absence, and ascertain the truth of the Spaniard's report. From this origin, so casual and domestic, arose the first permanent city of the new world. Don Bartholomew had already made an expedition to the southern coast, when he received letters from his brother, ordering him to select a site for the establishment of a town in that region. A place was chosen on the banks of the river Ozama, where the mouth of that river spreads into a broad expanse of water, of good anchorage and easiness of access, the banks of which are of singular beauty. The settlement was named Santo Domingo, in honor of the father of the admiral, whose name was Dominick.*

The seditious population of the colony was treated with no mitigation of authority by the stern and just Adelantado, who perhaps had not enough of the weakness that retreats in necessitous cases before the outbreakings of popular discontent, as he would not suffer the imagined grievances of the mass he had under his command to interfere with the systematic march of his government. One Francisco Roldan, the Alcalde of Isabella, was now busy in stirring up evil among the population of that place which remained under the command of Don Diego Columbus. Roldan urged arguments against the right of the two brothers to the command which they held in the colony, and insisted upon the injustice of subjecting Castilians to the tyranny of a foreign family whom nobody knew, and who had no sympathy or common interest with Spaniards. These machinations in such a soil soon ripened to open mutiny. Some seventy disaffected persons put Rol-

* Herrera.

dan at their head, and leaving Isabella, spread themselves over the interior, to make proselytes to their sedition both among Spaniards and Indians. Roldan knew what choice spirits he had to operate upon, and touching chords that responded from every bosom, soon spread his principles of insubordination far and wide.

Surrounded by open and secret foes to his authority, the adelantado knew not whom to trust. He proceeded to Fort Conception, then under the command of Miguel Ballester, a veteran who had refused to yield to the arts of Roldan. When vice is predominant, even the sternness of virtue is sometimes obliged to waver and temporize. The adelantado granted an interview with Roldan, on the guarantee of his personal safety. It terminated in nothing, and Roldan's suggestions and revolt continued to make fearful advances. While the adelantado was shut up in Conception, not certain of the fidelity of those around him, Roldan was at Isabella preparing to seize the vessels then in port and sail for Xaragua, that province in the west of the island which by its beauteous scenery had most enchanted the minds of the Spaniards. Here, in a luxurious climate and a soil of singular productiveness, Roldan and his companions looked forward to a life of sensuality and idleness.

In this state of disorder was the colony, when, on the 3d of February, 1498, intelligence came to Conception that two ships had arrived from Spain at Santo Domingo, containing supplies for the colony, a reinforcement of troops, and the tidings that the admiral was on his way from Spain to resume the command. The adelantado repaired immediately with new hopes to Santo Domingo, but had hardly begun to breathe from his difficulties, when he learned that Roldan and his companions were in Xaragua, safe from his new means of power, furnished with a point d'appui whence they would act with efficiency against him, and maintain themselves in their career of vagabondage secure from the arm of justice.

The charm of novelty and the hope of rapid enrichment from enterprise in the new world, had now lost their influence in Spain. The impoverished individuals of former expeditions, had many of them returned, and spread the story of their hardships and disappointments

through every province of that country. It is hard to sustain for a long time the excitement founded on unwarranted hope. If the fulfilment does not equal the prodigality of the expectation, the indifference and disgust which follow more than exceed the foregone enthusiasm. No emigrants could now be enlisted to furnish a new expedition to increase the population of Hispaniola. Columbus was in a situation to see the favorite object of his hopes dwindle and perish for want of materials to its sustenance, and suffered his anxiety for present success to outrun his good judgment in policy. He recommended in this dilemma the commutation of the punishment of condemned criminals to that of embarkation for Hispaniola. "A general pardon was published for all malefactors at large who should within a certain time surrender themselves to the admiral and embark for the Indies. Those who had committed offences meriting death were to serve for two years, and those whose misdeeds were of a lighter nature were to serve for one."* The consequences of peopling the colony with such a population were made appallingly obvious almost at the moment of its arrival. Some of the ships freighted with these hopeful emigrants making Hispaniola by the southern coast, and landing in Xaragua, there encountered Roldan and his accomplices in the very scene of their guilty independence. Nothing was easier than to gain over the refuse of the prisons of Spain to active and congenial companionship with the rebels. Roldan now saw himself in a situation to defy the efforts of Columbus against him, and the latter not only had the mortification to see Roldan reinforced from his own ships, but had reason to suspect the faith of those even who still maintained the form of obedience. He thus had no resource but to condescend to negotiate with Roldan for the pacification of the colony. The tone of the rebels was insolent even to threatening. After months of protocoling on the part of Columbus, and of double-dealing on the part of the rebels, the two parties came at last to a definitive arrangement. Roldan dictated his own terms as conqueror, and the admiral, crushed by the difficulties of his situation, was obliged to hush his indignation, while open mutiny was thus in power, and the loyalty of

* Irving.

his own followers so ill assured. It was stipulated that those of the rebels who wished it should have permission to return to Spain—to those who remained, lands were to be assigned instead of pay—the government engaged on its part to proclaim all previous charges against them to be falsely grounded, and sustained by malicious testimony. Roldan was himself reinstated in his office of Alcalde major, and what must have been more than all humiliating to the proud spirit of Columbus, a concluding article was added, allowing, in the case of failure to perform the stipulations, the right of the rebels themselves to unite and compel their performance. All this was submitted to, and a general pacification of the affairs of the colony took place at the end of August, 1499.

The prosperity of the colony, that had been severely checked by the year of rebellion, now began to revive. Attention now began to be turned to the rich susceptibilities of the soil, and the sober reality of things to take the place of the fond search after gold. The true sources of the island's wealth began more and more to disclose themselves. Indian slaves taken in war had already begun to be appropriated as laborers in agriculture. The tribute of the caciques was now commuted to the supplying of parties of Indians to labor upon the soil. This was the first origin of the repartimientos, or distribution of Indians to cultivate the lands of the colonists, which continued till the more profitable system of negro slavery was introduced. The Indians were now a conquered people, and as such subjected to the control and arbitrary disposal of their conquerors. A police was instituted to patrol the island, to superintend the interests of the colonists, and maintain a due subordination among the Indians. Every thing wore an aspect of prosperity. The mines were wrought with success and profit, and agriculture, carried on by means of the repartimientos of Indians, began to show the favorableness of the climate and the singular fertility of the soil.

Meantime the enemies of Columbus, always numerous and always inveterate, so far succeeded in their intrigues at the court of Ferdinand, that in the summer of 1500, one Bovadilla was despatched to Hispaniola, entrusted with a heterogeneous sort of power in the colony. It

was conditional, yet absolute, and defined, yet paramount. Half judge, half inquisitor, and half governor, he was deputed to ascertain and circumvent the suspected ambition of Columbus, which Ferdinand feared, and to insult his virtue and supersede his authority, both of which Fonseca hated. The first events that followed his arrival justified the wisdom of the selection. Within a little month Don Diego Columbus, then governor of Santo Domingo, was in prison—the city itself in full possession of the mob—Columbus and his brother Bartholomew in chains and in danger for their lives, and a saturnalia of disorder and crime in full career throughout the colony. Columbus was sent home in chains, and now Bovadilla fairly commenced his administration. Like all who acquire power through intrigue, and who by sustaining the opinions and catering to the perverse appetites of the rabble, seek support from that laudable source, Bovadilla commenced a course of administration the aim of which was in all points the reverse of that of Columbus. Where the government had been firm, he made it accommodating; where it had been strict and severe, he held the reins loosely; and the effect was soon apparent. To remove the restraints of wholesome authority from such a population was to burst open the prison-house of every unclean spirit, and permit a thousand noisome shapes of evil to emerge from the darkness of their confinement and disease, and poison the vital breath of the colony. Every good citizen was soon tired and disgusted with the lawlessness and disorder that pervaded the colony and looked back with regret upon the prosperity, the vigour, and virtue of the admiral's administration. Every measure was tried by Bovadilla which might produce the most wealth in the least possible time—and, as if conscious of his incapacity and mismanagement, and that every moment was precious, every nerve was strained to make the most of his power. The miners for gold were required to pay less into the royal treasury than under the rule of Columbus, but by this very means, which added to their own profits, the public revenue from this source was greater than at any preceding period. The Indians were tasked beyond their strength, and died in despair, wondering at the strange eagerness for gold, in the search for which

they wasted their last energies. They were all put in requisition, and each cacique became but a slavedealer in his own subjects.

This course, which bid so fair to annihilate the colony, fortunately did not continue long. In the spring of 1502, Bovadilla was superseded in power by Nicholas de Ovando, who arrived with the largest fleet and most extensive outfit of men and materials which had yet been sent to Hispaniola. It consisted of thirty-five ships and twenty-five hundred men; many of whom were of family and respectability. Some were married, and accompanied by their wives. They were destined to form the nucleus of a solid and permanent population to the colony. There were artisans of all kinds, a surgeon and apothecary. There were also live stock, arms and munitions, and all that might be called in request by the wants of the colonists. Ovando had been instructed to revoke the indulgences given by Bovadilla. One third of all the gold already collected was to be sent home to Spain, and one half of all in future. Ovando had been empowered to build towns with the rights of such corporations in Spain, and to order that the soldiers and citizens inhabit them, instead of scattering themselves over the country.

Many of the towns that now exist, and others that grew to a size of importance before their final abandonment and decay, were founded by this governor of the colony. Vega Real was built on the site of the capital of the cacique Guarionex, and Porto Plata, or the port of silver, was commenced on an inlet of the northern coast—and a Spaniard by the name of Rodriguez Mexia, acting under the orders of Ovando, renewed the settlement of Navidad, on the same coast. As was usual to a later period, before the true nature and interests of commerce were better understood, the trade of the colony of Hispaniola was carried on by royal factors, who, as commercial agents of the crown, exported the necessary supplies and received the productions of the colony in return. For the benefit of the Indians there came with Ovando twelve Franciscans, who were also to advise the colony in spiritual matters.

At this time another impulse had been given to western enterprise by the extension of discovery to the neighboring islands and to the coast of the continent beyond.

Allured by these new and vast accessions of empire that opened to their view a dazzling field of hope, crowds of romantic or avaricious adventurers had thronged to embark in the new expedition of Ovando. They had been unwarned by the fate of their predecessors at Isabella, and like them they were doomed to a bitter disappointment. Their hopes of gold, when tried by the touchstone of reality, proved but tempting, treacherous visions. They saw before them but a wild waste of woods waving in primeval solitude, uncultivated and unclaimed. The gold was scarce, and not to be attained but by a series of the most patient exertions. As in the former expedition, sickness followed close on the footsteps of despair, and in a little time one thousand of the adventurers had perished.

The luckless Indians were now fast melting away before the hard exactions of their task-masters. Divided into repartimientos, they were forced to the utmost exertion, and received but a nominal stipend for the most disproportionate labors. As if the unfortunate race were not perishing fast enough under this inhuman toil, the sword was put in requisition to accelerate the crisis of their fate. Rather to reduce more territory to the power of the Spaniards, than in credence of a vague rumor, Ovando invaded the province of Xaragua in the year 1503, and though the Spaniards were entertained by the gentle natives with marks of affection, and a respect that bordered on reverence, the female cacique of the province with her chiefs and subjects were captured or burnt in the huts where they had just feasted their ungrateful visitors.

Next followed a more lingering, though perhaps not less bloody war, in the province of Higüey, in the southeastern part of the island. Here the Indians had been taught fierceness and war by the yearly inroads of the Caribs of the neighboring islands. But their superior sagacity and courage availed them nothing over the skill and iron armour of their civilized adversaries. They were hunted from mountain to mountain—tortured to betray the haunts of their compatriots—wantonly mutilated in sport or anger—hung, gibbeted or slaughtered in masses. At last, by the capture of the fierce and indomitable cacique of the province the war was brought to a

termination—and the chieftain gasped out his last hatred of the Spanish name on a gibbet at Santo Domingo.

All the five sovereign caciques of the island were now no more, and the Indian population was nearly annihilated. Those that remained settled down in despair, performing the hard requisitions of their taskmasters, and sullenly awaiting the short interval of time to elapse when their toil should cease, and their race become extinct forever.

The administration of Ovando, for good or for evil, now drew towards a close; and though his memory must rest forever under the imputation of unnecessary cruelty to the aboriginals of Hispaniola, yet his was the administration of power under which an impulse of prosperity and of sound and healthy advancement was first given to the colony. Perhaps the pernicious fever of extravagance in hope and expectation had then begun to give place for the first time to a wiser estimation of the capabilities of the island, and Ovando was more indebted to the mere contingences of fortune than to the suggestions of his own prudence or sagacity. While other and wiser heads had groped in the dark, he, perhaps, was the favored one whose destiny was cast amid the clearer light which dawned from the errors of past experience.

The great discoverer was now dead, and had left the bequest of his rights and possessions in the new world, as well as the perplexities by which they were fettered, to his son, Don Diego Columbus. This inheritance was coupled with the ungrateful condition that its enjoyment was to be solicited from the doubtful generosity of such a monarch as Ferdinand. After a long and anxious suspense, which was terminated only by the successful issue of a law suit against the crown, Don Diego was invested with his rights, and sailed for Hispaniola with the most respectable and brilliant cortege that had yet embarked for the new world. He was accompanied by his wife, from one of the noblest families of Spain, by his brothers, uncles, and a numerous retinue of both sexes, whose birth and education were to give eclat as well as vigor and numbers to the colony. The city of Santo Domingo had just been nearly demolished by one of those violent and destructive tornadoes that occasionally sweep so fearfully over regions within the tropics. The admiral entered upon his command

with the alacrity of youthful enthusiasm, and with an eye to the permanent prosperity and increase of the colony. He set about building up and embellishing the capital city, Santo Domingo; and the foundations of a new palace were laid, the magnificence of which was to be correspondent to the greatness of the new world, and to the fame and dignity of the family of Columbus. The court of the vice queen was thronged by a gay circle of attendants, who were, or professed to be, *Hidalgoes* of the best blood of Castile.

To augment the empire of Spain and make the vast discoveries of his father more available to himself, Don Diego despatched many expeditions to conquer and colonize the neighboring islands and the shores of the continent. Juan Ponce de Leon was sent over to the island of Porto Rico, where he effected a lodgment, and soon gathered around him a flourishing colony. Alonzo de Ojeda, in an attempt to settle the shores of the continent, was less fortunate. Establishments had been made both at Carthagena and Nombre de Dios, where for the first time in the new world the Spaniards were compelled to flee before the fierceness and courage of the natives. An enterprize was set on foot in the year 1511, to conquer the island of Cuba, the command of which was intrusted to Diego Velasquez, whose banner was followed by many persons of note in Hispaniola. With a force of three hundred men Velasquez succeeded in completely conquering that island, which was annexed to the empire of Spain, and Velasquez appointed its governor.

The old leaven of sedition and discontent still continued to fester within the vitals of the colony of Hispaniola. A creature of the infamous bishop Fonseca, whose name was Passamonte, had been sent out in the capacity of royal treasurer. This man, in obedience to the opinions, and no doubt to the instructions of his patron, while he set up pretensions to the exclusive office of superintending the affairs of the king, announced also that his personal feelings and interests were widely separate from those of the admiral. The industry of a demagogue will always secure a party to sustain his opinions and conduct. There soon existed two parties in the colony—the one headed by the admiral, and the other by

the treasurer. The latter affected a dread of the designs and growing encroachments of the former. Letters were continually on their way to Spain, filled with distorted accounts of the admiral's policy. Acts of treason and disloyalty were manufactured from the simplest movements, and the picture of the errors and faults of his administration was drawn in colors of darkness. The new palace of the admiral was deemed no trifling matter when viewed as a castle whence he, in the independence of his power, might defy the efforts of his king to restrain him within the limits of fealty and subjection.

These representations wrought their full effect upon the dark jealousy of Ferdinand, who began to think that more restraint should be placed upon the governor of a province so distant from his sovereign power, and thus so favored by circumstances to plot schemes of ambition, and succeed in bringing them to a prosperous issue. As a balance to this danger, a sovereign court called the Royal Audience, was established at Santo Domingo, with supreme judicial powers over the whole colony, and with appellate jurisdiction over the acts of the admiral himself. The latter became in a short time a mere puppet at the head of the administration : insulted by faction, and crippled in the free use of his authority. Amiable and artless Diego Columbus seems to have been little fitted to grapple with the malign spirits that surrounded him, though when left to himself his exercise of power was generally just and equitable. He was opposed to the repartimientos, though the necessities of the colony, or the thralldom in which he was held, did not allow him to abolish them. He, however, corrected many abuses which had been practised in the management of them, and the agents who had abused their trusts by cruelty or oppression he removed from their employment—an act to gain him no popularity but among that race whose good wishes could avail him nothing in the support of his authority.

The cautious Ferdinand still continued to limit the power and influence of the admiral in the colony by the multiplication of new agents of authority, or by diverting it into new channels, till nothing remained to him but the distribution of the Indians among the colonists. At last even this was taken from him, and Rodrigo Albuquerque

was despatched to Hispaniola, with the royal commission of Distributor of the Indians. Aroused by this last act in the long succession of injuries inflicted on his interests, Don Diego left his wife, Donna Maria, to rule in his absence as vice queen, and sailed for Spain to regain from the monarch that authority which had been so often and so solemnly guaranteed both to his father and himself.

A chief difficulty in the way of the colony's prosperity was now the want of laborers to cultivate the soil. The unhappy aborigines had dwindled to a mere remnant. Of a population of a million found on the island by Columbus, scarcely twenty-four thousand now remained, and these were fast sinking into the grave under the destructive influence of cruelty and hardship. In this emergency expeditions were fitted out to the Bahama islands, in order to decoy from their homes the gentle and confiding race who inhabited them, to be sold as slaves in Hispaniola. They were but too successful. Availing themselves of the fond superstition of the natives, that the departed spirits of their friends, after an expiation of their earthly defilements by a purgatory of cold in the mountains of the north, passed to more sunny realms under a more tropical sky, where they enjoyed an indolent paradise forever, the crafty Spaniards alleged that they came from this land of their departed relatives, and invited them to go thither and rejoin them. The simple Indians trusted the tale, and went to inevitable and deadly servitude. Like their predecessors of Hispaniola, they died at their tasks, or in despair put an end to their own existence, while new cargoes of their race were arriving daily at Hispaniola to the same wretchedness and death. The trade was long carried on among the islands, and even extended to the main, in order to supply the increasing demands of the colony of Hispaniola.*

Before Don Diego Columbus reached Spain, Ferdinand was no more. His demands were, however, granted by the emperor Charles, and he returned to his government. But the change in the government of Spain operated no change in the intrigues and factions of Hispaniola. The party of Passamonte, to which was now added the rival authority of the Royal Audience, still continued its

*Peter Martyr.

machinations against the admiral, and with equal success. If the government of Charles had not the narrow-minded jealousy of that of Ferdinand, his ignorance of the nature of power and of its functionaries in the Indies was readily excited to distrust and suspicion by a continued succession of accusations, all tending to one object. Don Diego was soon summoned back to Spain to answer the charges of usurping authority over the Royal Audience, and of making certain changes during his administration in the nature and agents of his government. The admiral never returned, his death taking place soon after.

Meantime Albuquerque entered on his duties with eagerness. A census was taken of the Indians, and in the ardour of his zeal or cupidity he imposed such cruel modifications in the system of repartimientos as hastened fearfully the period when the race of Indians was to become utterly extinct. When the census was completed they were divided into lots, and sold publicly to the highest bidder. Thus not even the appearance of freedom was left them any longer. To the honor of the ecclesiastics of the colony, their exertions were unremitted to ameliorate the condition and retard the ultimate fate of the natives. Of the two orders of clergy to whom the spiritual interests of the colony had been committed, the Dominicans had ever manifested a zeal and unyielding ardor that left their brethren the Franciscans far behind. In the ranks of the former, but by the warmth and energy of his enthusiasm animating the exertions of both, was Las Casas, the celebrated bishop of Chiapa. To save the interesting and gentle race of Hispaniola and the new world from the destructiveness of slavery was with him more than a passion—it seemed the ruling and guiding principle of his soul. In consequence of his pious appeals and representations to cardinal Ximenes, then, in the absence of the emperor, regent of Spain, three commissioners were sent to Hispaniola, with full powers to make a due investigation of the system of repartimientos, and a final adjustment of the condition of the Indians.

The Dominican friars were bold and unqualified in their denunciation of the repartimientos and the slavery of the Indians. The Franciscans, though opposed to the actual treatment received by the Indians, were less unlim-

ited and unreserved in their opinions as to the right of the natives to perfect freedom. When mens' passions are enlisted to support their opinions, the more moderate will soon come to adopt as principles of action the extreme sentiments of which their more violent opponents are sure to accuse them, and from lukewarm friends will be changed to real enemies. There were soon two parties in the colony. The Dominicans, acting from conscience and in accordance to what they esteemed a law of heaven, denounced the right and impugned the justice of enslaving the Indians. The interested colonists and the Franciscans, who were for a modified servitude, sustained themselves against their opponents on grounds of expediency and the right of conquest. To the deputation appointed by cardinal Ximenes were added a lawyer of distinguished probity, whose name was Zuazo, and Las Casas, upon whom had been conferred the high-sounding but empty title of Protector of the Indians. The first act of the commissioners was to set at liberty all the Indians that had been granted to the Spanish courtiers, or to any person not residing in the island.

This achievement of the commissioners, which was looked upon but as the earnest of a more extensive emancipation of the Indian slaves, spread consternation and anger among the colonists. The Spaniards were exasperated or discouraged. The lands could not be cultivated without laborers, and those who had by patient perseverance broken through the first obstacles of settlement, now saw their painful enterprise on the point of becoming a total failure. Panic, discontent and discouragement were general through the colony. The commissioners soon began to doubt the solidity of their policy, and yielded to the universal storm of passion that was beating on them. The subject was maturely reconsidered, and the question and the colony set at rest by the final decision of the commissioners, that the state of the colony rendered the abolishment of the repartimientos impracticable, and that it was expedient that the Indians should remain in subjection to their masters.

After the departure of Don Diego Columbus for Spain, his vice queen, Donna Maria, exerted herself to obtain the assent of the Royal Audience to fit out an expedition

to colonize the province of Veragua on the Main. After the death of her husband she sailed for Spain, to maintain before the emperor the rights and privileges granted to the family of Columbus in the Indies. She was accompanied by her son, Don Luis Columbus, whom she put forward as the lawful heir to the possessions of his family. The title of Admiral of the Indies was immediately conferred upon the young man. But the emperor demurred to the possession of vice regal powers by the descendants of Columbus, and after a long solicitation Don Luis retired from court, unsuccessful in procuring a full investiture of his rights. With an augmented revenue he sailed for Hispaniola in the year 1540, as captain-general of the island, though with such limits and balances to his power as made the title a mere name. Don Luis soon became disgusted at playing an empty pageant without authority or influence, and he wisely resolved to prefer the solid realities of a private establishment in Spain to the emptiness of mere title in the colony. A compromise was effected, by which he transferred to the crown all his hereditary rights in the new world, with one tenth of its revenue, for the annuity of a thousand doubloons and the title of Duke of Veragua and Marquis of Jamaica to him and his successors. About a century after this transfer these rights and dignities reverted to the crown of Spain.*

The enthusiastic philanthropy of Las Casas had not been turned from its object by the unfavorable decision of the commissioners. Not discouraged at the obstacles he had to encounter, he now ranged his eye through the whole horizon of possibilities to seek in some quarter for a gleam of hope to illumine the dark destiny of that unhappy people which occupied all his sympathies. A small number of a hardier race, the negroes of Guinea, had been imported into the island so early as the year 1503. They were found stronger than the Indians, and more robust to endure labor, under the burning heats of the climate, so much so that it was computed the labor of one negro was worth that of four Indians. "The Africans," says Herrera, "prospered so much in the colony of Hispaniola that it was the opinion unless a negro should happen to be hung he would never die, for

* Alcedo.

as yet none had been known to perish from infirmity. Like oranges, they found their proper soil in Hispaniola, and it seemed even more natural than Guinea."

The farther importation of negroes was forbidden by Ovando, from the notion that they corrupted the Indians. The Portuguese had for a long time been engaged in a traffic to the Guinea coast for slaves. Antonio Gonzales, while in the service of Prince Henry of Portugal in 1442, made prisoners of two Moors near Cape Bojador, and brought them home. Being ordered to restore them to their country, he exchanged them on the African coast for ten negroes and a quantity of gold dust. The avarice of the Portuguese was awakened by this gainful transaction, and expeditions were fitted out with the express design to traffic on the Guinea coast for slaves. This soon grew to a large and profitable commerce, and for forty years the king of Portugal assumed to himself the title of Lord of Guinea.* Availing himself of these facts, Las Casas proposed the substitution of African for Indian laborers in the colonies of the new world. His representations were received with a favorable ear by the emperor, and a patent was granted to a company of Genoese merchants, allowing them to introduce four thousand negroes into Hispaniola, and a regular traffic between the Guinea coast and the colony was soon established. All casuistry out of the question, this scheme of Las Casas deserves praise for sincerity and good intention; and though by it what some call an evil of fearful magnitude has been entailed on our hemisphere, the good father should be judged with lenity when it is recollected that he substituted the hardy, stupid African, for the frail and sensitive aboriginal of America. The one race was annihilated by slavery, while the other has ever since continued to thrive and fatten upon it.

The true sources of wealth in the island were now ascertained not to consist in digging for gold among its barren mountains, but in cultivating the rich soil of its plains, and agriculture was now pursued with as much ardor as had been formerly the search for gold. The sugar-cane had been introduced into the island, and was now in extensive cultivation. In the hard labor necessary

* Edwards.

in rearing and manipulating it the hardiness of the negro was shown infinitely superior to the fragile organization of the Indian. Plantation after plantation was put successively in cultivation. The business of sugar making was vastly lucrative, and prosecuted with too much improvident eagerness for permanent profit. Both Indians and negroes were tasked beyond all reasonable bounds; and goaded on to such toil the former died in performing it, while the latter rebelled. The first negro insurrection took place on the 27th of November, 1522. The negroes on an estate belonging to the admiral joined their countrymen on two or three contiguous plantations, murdered their overseers, and in possession of arms rushed forth on the country. Their object was to seize on the town of Azua, situated to the west of Santo Domingo, or in failure of that to escape to the mountains. The Spaniards soon rallied, and with the Admiral at their head hurried to the scene of the rebellion. The owner of one of the plantations associated in the revolt, whose name was De Castro, put himself at the head of seventeen mounted soldiers, and leaving the ranks of the admiral pushed forward and rushed upon the rebels. The latter fled in confusion and terror, leaving six of their number dead on the field and several wounded. A hot pursuit was kept up by the forces of the admiral, and the fugitives were soon overtaken, and when captured hung on the nearest tree. The rebellion was effectually crushed, and the terror of the example was efficacious in securing a lasting subordination.

The greater stability and steady advance of the colony's prosperity had now given a new impulse to emigration from Spain. New towns were settled and new forests cleared, and turned to a rich productiveness. There were at this epoch fourteen thousand Castilians in the island, established as planters or engaged in mining, the gold region yielding an income to government of \$500,000 annually.* With a few hindrances to prosperity, arising from the excessive rapacity and avarice of the Genoese monopolists, all things flowed in a smooth and prosperous stream—the planters reaping golden harvests from a soil of immense fertility, and the government at home deriv-

* Edwards.

ing a prosperous revenue from the gold district of Cibao. But still the scarcity of laborers was enough to constitute a serious obstacle in the way of the settlement, from the augmented demand arising from the daily establishment of new plantations. The little remnant of Indians that now remained were half exempted from their toil and hard treatment through sheer insignificance, when they were compared in value with the hardy race which had been substituted in their place. The Genoese merchants were exorbitant in the prices at which they held their importations, and few of the Spanish colonists had sufficient wealth to form an establishment so expensive. But these were small difficulties in the way of the colony's growth when compared with the injurious influence of other and greater events, that were in progress at this epoch. The island of Cuba, under the energetic rule of Velasquez, had now grown to be a formidable competitor of Hispaniola. Whether the opinion was well based or not, the mind of every Spanish emigrant was now fixedly determined in favor of the asserted superiority of Cuba. If the adventurers from old Spain were hurrying to Hispaniola, those of Hispaniola were hurrying with the eagerness of that sanguine race to share in the bursting opulence of Cuba.

But events were now in action on the continent of America, the splendor of which attracted every eye, while every bosom was filled with eager longings to participate in the rich stores of wealth just disclosed by the march of conquest. While the mines of Mexico and Peru were in their mind's eye, the Spaniards looked with scorn upon the scanty revenues, gained so slowly and by such effort, from planting in Hispaniola. All who had not acquired possessions to fix them as residents in the islands now hastened over to the continent, to share in the rich spoils of the conquered nations. These influences were pernicious to the growth and prosperity of the colony, but they were natural and inevitable. Unfortunately Spain in the jealousy of her spirit added to them other causes of decay which were purely artificial. In accordance with the ignorance and selfishness of the age, and of the court of Spain in particular, commercial regulations were enacted to control the colonies, which

entangled in the meshes of an over-cautious and malign policy every free movement of trade. The commerce of the colonies was all confined to the unwise arrangement of a government counting-house called the Casa de la Contratacion, through which all exports were sent out to the colonies and all remittances made in return. By this order of things the want of free competition blasted all enterprize, and the exorbitant rates of an exclusive traffic paralyzed industry. The cultivation of the vine, the olive, and other staple productions of Spain was prohibited. All commerce between the colonies was forbidden, and not only could no foreigner traffic with them, but death and confiscation of property was decreed to the colonist who should traffic with a foreigner—slave vessels alone being excepted.

The cattle that had been brought to the island by the first expedition thither, had increased, in its state of partial abandonment, so as to form vast herds, which now run wild amid the solitudes of the interior. In addition to the fabrication of sugar, the exportation of which had been so great as to draw forth the sarcastic remark, that the numerous palaces and works of architecture built by Charles V. had been raised by the sugar of Hispaniola and Cuba, the hunting of cattle for their hides was now added to the regular employments of the colonists, and contributed largely to the exports of the island.

The embarkation of the English in the trade to Guinea had a slight influence on the sinking fortunes of Hispaniola. John Hawkins being informed at the Canaries that slaves were in great demand at that island, made his first voyage to Guinea in the year 1562, with three ships fitted out by an association of gentlemen in London. Hawkins arrived at Hispaniola, with a freight of three hundred slaves, which he sold at Isabella, Porto Plata and Monte Christe. Hawkins was not only the first Englishman who engaged in the traffic for negroes, but excited much interest and wonder from his being the first of his countrymen who had sailed a ship to the West Indies.* This successful voyage of Hawkins encouraged other adventurers to follow in his footsteps, and the planters of Hispaniola and Cuba felt the benefits flowing from the free competition

* Stow's Chron.

in the reduced price of slaves. They were now introduced fast into the colony, and the readiness with which laborers were procured served to retard its decline.

Meantime the capital of the colony had grown to the size and brilliancy of a large city. In addition to the magnificent vice royal palace, built by Don Diego Columbus, it contained a great number of public buildings of durable material and superior elegance of construction. "better," says Oviedo, "then any in Barcelona." There was a cathedral, and a hospital which had been built by the treasurer, Passamonte, and three monasteries; those of St. Dominick, St. Francis and St. Mary. This city divided the suffrages of the richer proprietors of the colony with the inland town of Santiago de los Cavalleros.

Hitherto the colonies of Spain in the Indies, from their distant situation and the infancy of navigation, had been left secure from hostile inroad during the frequent wars of Europe. Though Charles from his accession to the throne of Spain had been almost continually engaged in war with the other powers of Europe, none had ever dared the unknown seas to attack his possessions in America. But the time had now come when that nation which had grown to be a formidable rival of Spain on the continent of Europe, was preparing to attack its best colonies beyond the sea. The sceptre of the seas had already begun to pass slowly but irresistibly from the grasp of Spain into the hands of its northern rivals, and Spanish America was destined soon to feel the bitter effects.

Amidst the hostilities carried on between Elizabeth of England and Philip of Spain during the wars of the Low Countries, Sir Francis Drake was despatched to the West Indies with a fleet of twenty sail and two thousand three hundred men, fitted out by private adventure, half through patriotism and half through desire of gain. Drake sailed in September, 1585, and arrived at the Cape de Verde islands in safety. After a short stay there he steered his course for Hispaniola, and arrived off Santo Domingo on new-year's day, 1586. With the characteristic energy of this half admiral and half pirate, a party of men were immediately landed at the distance of ten miles above the city, who were, in obedience to Drake's system of strategy, to make an assault by land while he with the fleet

co-operated by sea. The party that had been landed arranged itself for the attack, and pressed forward to the city in two columns directed on different points, thus to avoid the guns of the castle. Panic and disorder had paralyzed all effort on the part of the Spaniards, and the assailants to their wonder found the gates of the town open to their entrance. They rushed forward sword in hand, and found nothing in the way of their progress till the two attacking parties met at the public square. The garrison of the castle did not stay to fire more than one volley before they fled with precipitation, and gave up their fair city to the mercy of its invaders. The English immediately set about securing their conquest by entrenching themselves, turning the guns of the town so as to sweep the approaches from the country. A portion of the Spanish inhabitants were still shut up in the castle, too much unnerved by fear to make any exertion to save their city from being plundered by a mere handful of enemies. When night closed in they glided by stealth from their stronghold, seized the boats that lay at the water's edge, and crossing the river fled to join their panic struck countrymen in the interior. Thus Drake without striking a blow was left in undisputed possession of the oldest and richest Spanish settlement in the new world. The next day Drake took farther measures to secure his conquest, which he held in absolute possession for a month, alternately plundering its wealth and carrying on a slow negotiation for its ransom. Drake's demand for the latter was more than the citizens were able to pay, and for that consideration, or to give more decision to the other contracting party, he ordered the city to be destroyed. It was set on fire, but, being built of stone, it would not burn. In this sad dilemma the patriotic admiral was forced to send his men on shore to demolish the city by manual effort. Two hundred seamen and as many soldiers were employed every day through the cool of the morning in trying to tear down the edifices. But the building was thick and massive, and their utmost industry produced but small results. Finding his object beyond an easy attainment, and the heat of the climate pressing heavily on his men, Drake reduced the exorbitance of his first demand to the moderate sum of 25,000

ducats, as a ransom for what remained of the city. Negotiations were again commenced, but the occurrence of an untoward event exasperated Drake, and suspended their progress for a time. Two Spanish cavaliers meeting a negro boy belonging to Drake, who was the bearer of despatches from his master to the Spanish authorities, in the exasperation of the moment struck him and afterwards run him through with a lance. Dreadfully wounded as he was, the poor boy crawled back to his master, and while giving him an account of the affair fell dead at his feet. The rage of Drake at this occurrence was terrible. He ordered that two unfortunate monks, who were his prisoners, should be taken immediately by the provost marshal to the place where his flag had been violated, and hung on the spot. He then sent a message to the Spanish municipality, informing them of the circumstances, and that two Spanish prisoners would be hung every day till those who had perpetrated the cruelty were given up to his justice. They were sent into the city the next day, and Drake by a refinement in severity forced some of their own countrymen who were his prisoners to be their executioners. Active exertions were now made by the Spaniards to rid their city of such stern and uncereemonious conquerors. The money was paid for its ransom, not however without much disappointment on the part of the English, who expected much more booty. They found in a public hall in the city an escutcheon on which were the arms of Spain and below them a globe over which was a winged horse with the motto "non sufficit orbis." Drake's patriotism was aroused at this vaunt, and the Spaniards were informed that should the queen permit the war to be continued, instead of the whole globe not being sufficient, Philip would have some difficulty to retain what he already possessed. The English, assured that they had collected all the booty which could be gained at Santo Domingo, sailed from that place, to play the same game of conquest and plunder on the Spanish main.*

The immediate losses of the Spaniards by this inroad are not to be compared in any general estimate, with the appalling fact that by it a way was made open for similar

* Hakluyt.

aggressions in future. The spell of loneliness and mystery, which Spain had always contrived to maintain around her possessions in America, was now in a fair way to be dispelled forever. Navigators from England, Holland and France—piratical plunderers and adventurers of every description now began to throng those seas which Spain had heretofore claimed as her own exclusive realm. Scarcely six years had elapsed since the inroad of Drake, when the colony of Hispaniola was subjected to the scourge of another invasion. Christopher Newport sailed from Dover with a fleet of three ships and a tender, to cruise against the shipping and possessions of Spain in the West Indies. In the month of April, 1592, he attacked with this force the town of Azua, on the bay of Ocoa, which was taken and plundered. After remaining there a few days to refresh his men and collect his booty, Newport sailed for the town of Yaguana, (Leogane) which then contained about one hundred and fifty houses. The English immediately commenced their attack with impetuosity, but the Spaniards defended their town with such bravery that Newport's squadron was repulsed. Either discouraged or for purposes of deception, he put to sea, but returned at night to the attack, landed his men, and in a violent assault carried the town by storm. The inhabitants fled into the woods, and the town was set on fire and burnt to the ground. Newport after this landed at many other points of the colony, carrying destruction wherever he went: thus by one day's inroad destroying the hard earnings of many years' industry, and throwing a blight upon the prosperity of the colony which no future effort could overcome.

The Spanish colony of Hispaniola, after many vicissitudes of prosperity and misfortune, now began to yield rapidly to the deadly influences that assailed it. Like the light caravels of Columbus, it had answered its purpose as the first rude attempt to open a path of enterprise to the new world: subsequent success had increased the daringness of men, and opened a wider hope to their vaulting ambition: and now in the full career of discovery and colonization they despised the feeble pioneerings of the age which had preceded them, and having crossed the continent of America and launched themselves on a

new ocean, they looked forward with the highest hope to a richer field of discovery and a more extended scope of enterprize than had been dreamed of in the philosophy of their boyhood.

A war of bitterness and ferocity now began to be carried on for the sovereignty of the West India seas. A jealousy that would allow no rival had ever characterized the colonial policy of Spain in relation to her possessions in America. Other nations had how found their way thither, and were unanimous in nothing but the desire and fixed determination of being made participators in the bounteous profusion of those "climes of the sun." The contest was carried on with every cruelty that tenacity of privilege on the one hand, and the trained courage of a warlike and desperate race on the other, could perpetrate. Spain filled those seas with *Guarda Costas* and other armed vessels to protect her possessions from hostile inroad, and guard her colonial commerce from the encroachments of those who were ready at every point to set her regulations at defiance—while the intruding nations, English, Dutch and French, were hovering in swarms on the coasts, thirsting for plunder and the golden rewards that were to compensate them for encountering danger and death in every appalling shape, and for doing deeds of daring that have in subsequent times been the wonder of the earth. The argus-like jealousy with which Spain watched over her interests in America, and the unsparing severity with which she visited the least encroachment on those rights she deemed exclusively her own, gave origin to the appalling maxim of the Buccaneers, "no peace beyond the line." The *Guarda Costa* subjected the prisoners it captured to immediate death, often in its most cruel form, and the revengeful and desperate sea rover sacrificed to his hatred of the Spanish name by horrid acts of retaliation, and wrote down the direness and ferocity of his vengeance in fearful characters traced in flames and blood. A constant succession of expeditions and destructive inroads were in progress. Spanish towns were plundered, the inhabitants treated with every form of cruelty, and that which had been a flourishing settlement was left a mass of blackened, deserted ruins. Such a contest was unequal. The Span-

iard, bloated with luxury and enervated by climate, could not contend with the hardy and vigorous desperadoes who despised danger and would not be vanquished, and he yielded to his destiny.

The towns and settlements along the coasts of Hispaniola were now in continual danger from these lawless plunderers of the sea. The restless and untamed spirits of the old world were now congregated in formidable unions to ravage the towns and rob the wealth of Spain in the West Indies. Not a settlement was safe, the situation of which was far from the main body of the colony. While the city of Santô Domingo, the head of the colony, was in daily expectation of a mortal blow, the members were lopped off successively in detail. The towns in the western part of the island, few in number and far from the support and assistance of their countrymen in the older part, were peculiarly exposed and subjected to the paralyzing influence of a continual panic. To secure their safety and to augment their profits, many of them were the secret allies of their dangerous visitants from the sea, and thus in danger of calling down upon their own heads that vengeance which the mother country intended for the foreign interlopers on her commerce. Spain no longer regarded the island of Hispaniola as one of her most favorable possessions amid such boundlessness of wealth and fertility as was now opening upon her from her conquests on the continent of America. The mines and plantations of the island grew more and more neglected and ruinous, while the colonists were hastening to swell the tide of emigration to New Spain. Yielding to the principles of her policy and the necessity of the times, the government of Spain determined to bring about a greater concentration of the population of Hispaniola, both to give it more security from the Buccaneers, and establish a more effectual check on the practice of contraband commerce, which for a more rapid gain these distant colonists were busy in carrying on, secured as they were by their situation from the espionage of the functionaries of the colony. In the year 1696 the order was issued that all the settlements in the western part of the island and on what has since been called the Bight of Leogane, should be abandoned, and the inhabitants

united to the population of the eastern, or earliest settled part. The town of Yaguana, or Leogane, was the principal settlement of those included in the order for abandonment, and had just begun to recover from the disastrous invasion of Newport. Its inhabitants were joined to those of Puerto Real and Bahia (Fort Dauphin) on the northern coast, and sent to form the population of a new town built in the interior of the island. The deserted habitations of Yaguana, after the retirement of the Spaniards, were almost immediately seized upon by the Dutch adventurers in the West India seas as a place to furnish wood and water to their ships,—an occurrence that should have pointed out to Spain the error in her policy which left such an extent of territory unoccupied for the certain establishment and growth of a rival colony within her own borders.

But a few years elapsed after the abandonment of the western towns before the Spanish colony of Hispaniola sunk into utter insignificance. Being the first spot where civilization planted its footsteps amid the unknown wilds of another continent made it a sort of connecting link between the old world and the new: but the high hopes and golden fancies, the misery and despair, disease and death that checkered its earlier history, were only remembered as the “deeds of the days of other years,” or forgotten forever.

CHAPTER II.

Tortugas—Buccaneers of St. Domingo—their habits and mode of life—Spaniards attack Tortugas—Willis, an English adventurer, made chief of the Buccaneers—massacre of the French—Le Vasseur arrives from St. Christopher's—superseded by Fontenay—Tortugas taken again by the Spaniards—restored to the French by Du Rausset—administration of Ogeron—attack on Santiago—introduction of white females—administration of M. Pouancey—a negro rebellion—M. Cussy—projects to subdue the whole island—Spanish and Dutch hostilities—another attack on Santiago—battle of Limonade and death of M. Cussy—succeeded by M. Ducas—expedition against Jamaica—invasion of the French territory by the English and Spaniards—expedition to Carthagena—western part of St. Domingo ceded to France by the treaty of Ryswick.

Just off the northwestern coast of St. Domingo there lies a little wooded island called Tortugas. It is low and fertile, and stretches itself across the entrance of a fine harbor on the neighboring coast of the main island, called by the French name of Port de Paix; hid by bold headlands and overhung by bald or wood-crowned mountain peaks. That the celebrated freebooters of this century selected this convenient spot as their refuge from danger and retreat from toil, but proves the deep forethought of this enterprising race of adventurers. The sea-rovers had now increased in numbers far beyond the supply of booty to be taken, and their profession was overdone to an extent that rendered success in its pursuit too much a problem of chance to satisfy for a long time the activity of their impatient natures—and many of them abandoned their old employment for new modes of life.

Become attached to the mild regions of the tropics, and incapacitated, by a long life of wild adventure, for the restraints of civilized society, some went to the bay of Campeachy and became cutters of logwood, while most of them remained at their old retreat, Tortugas, and employed themselves in hunting wild cattle on the coast of St. Domingo.* This coast was a wilderness, and the

* This name of the island came in use from the Buccaneers, who called the whole island by the name of its capital city, Santo Domingo. It was afterwards adopted by the French and all other nations but the Spaniards.

business of hunting the wild cattle that roamed in herds through its solitudes became profitable from the sale of the hides and tallow to the ships visiting the West Indies for purposes of traffic. The flesh was converted into sustenance by smoking it on hurdles, or as they were termed, boucans, a word used by the Carib Indians to express that apparatus for curing their meat. From this term and the business they followed these hunters were called Buccaneers.* They called themselves brethren of the coast—an appropriate term when their mode of living is considered. As they were without wives or children, it was a custom with them to live together in couples, that the various duties of a family establishment might be performed with more completeness and order. While one was engaged in hunting, the other commonly remained at home, engaged in curing the beef of yesterday's hunt, or in cooking their meals against the return of his fellow lodger. All property was held in common between the two, and it descended, in case of death, to the surviving partner. Theft was unknown, though locks were never used for security. What one did not find at home he proceeded immediately and without ceremony to take from the cabin of his nearest neighbor, without other word than to apprise the owner of it if he was at home, or in case he was absent to inform him on his return. Disputes were unfrequent, and when they did occur were easily accommodated. If the cause was grave, or the parties not to be reconciled, instead of a lawyer and jury they employed the musket to bring about a decision of the question. The ground was chosen, and the whole fraternity were made spectators of the mortal arbitrement. The word was given to fire, and if the ball took either party in the back or side, it was adjudged to be unfair dealing, and the head of the murderer was cleft in two on the spot. The laws of their native country went for nothing among the brotherhood. They pretended that they had been emancipated from all allegiance to them by the baptism of the sea, which they had each undergone in passing the tropics. Even their family name they abandoned, and noms de guerre, chosen to suit each one's

* At the present time the word *boucaner* is used in St. Domingo in the signification of *to bake*, instead of the legitimate French word, *cuire au four*.

whim or fancy, were the appellations by which they were known, and which in after times descended to their posterity.

Their usual dress was a hunting shirt dipped in the blood of the animals they had slain in the chase—coarse drawers, yet more foul—for a girdle a strip of raw hide, in which were stuck a small sword and several knives—a cap with a small portion of brim in front for convenience in removing it—and shoes without stockings.

Thus dressed and equipped this hybrid race, the product of civilization and the wilderness, limited all their ambition to having a gun that would carry an ounce ball, and a pack of twenty-five or thirty hounds. They had no other occupation than hunting in the woods of St. Domingo, which since its abandonment by the Spaniards had become filled with immense herds of wild cattle. They proceeded immediately to skin their game when they had killed it, and then hurried forwards to bring down others, till they were possessed of the requisite number for the day. When fatigued and hungry they proceeded to cook a portion of the meat they had stripped from the wild carcase, and with the pepper and orange juice they found plentifully around them, made a meal to satisfy all the wants of their appetite. They had no bread, and drank nothing but water. The description of one day's mode of living is that of every day, till they were in possession of the number of hides they had contracted to deliver to the vessels of different nations which visited their settlement. They then proceeded with the trophies of their success to the harbor or inlet where the ship was waiting her homeward cargo, and received in exchange such commodities as their wants and situation required. The employment soon became comparatively profitable, and above all had infinite charms to those wild spirits who alone at that time ventured into the seas of the West Indies.

The community of Tortugas soon increased so as to extend itself to the neighboring coast of St. Domingo. Bold adventurers from almost every European nation were already congregated among them, and not a year passed away but it brought large additions to their number. The jealousy of Spain was now turned against the island of

St. Christophers, and Don Frederic de Toledo being despatched, in the year 1620, with a fleet directed on the Brazils, was instructed to touch at St. Christophers on his way, and expel the English and French who had settled on that island. These orders were carried into full execution, and the refugees who survived the attack fled to join the settlement at Tortugas. This occurrence added largely to the effective strength of that community, and they now began in earnest to spread themselves along the coast of St. Domingo, and from their augmented numbers, and the greater boldness of their depredations within the territory, to give alarm to the Spanish authorities at Santo Domingo.

The Spanish herdsmen had for a long time viewed the new species of encroachment on their territory and customary employments with feelings of anxiety and suspicion. What they considered their prescriptive rights of chase were daily diminished by the bold and lawless encroachments of these amphibious huntsmen. The little nest of intruders was deemed a sufficient object to call down the vengeance of the Spanish power on the settlement—and the growing extent and boldness of their inroads became reasons for immediate hostility. Accordingly an expedition was secretly fitted out in the year 1638, which landing on Tortugas at a moment of security carried the place at the first onset. The poor buccaneers were all put to the sword without ceremony, their cabins were burnt or razed to the ground, and their property, earned by months of toil and danger, was taken to reward the success of their ruthless enemy. The settlement seemed totally annihilated, and the Spaniards fondly thought it would never be attempted again; but they did not consider the irrepressible nature of the race with whom they had to contend. A remnant was left of those resident on the coast of St. Domingo, and those who had been absent in the chase, who soon returned to gaze with wonder and regret, but without discouragement, on the ruins of their favorite settlement. They had already set about rebuilding their cabins and bringing order out of the desolation, when they were joined by an Englishman named Willis, who with three hundred followers had come down from the island of Nevis to join their frater-

nity. When hope bursts from the darkness of despair it awakens an encouragement to activity that more than equals the preceding despondency. The little community immediately rallied around Willis. He was unanimously chosen the chief, where before a chief was unknown, and soon attained a weight of influence and authority that was almost unlimited. Guided by the wise policy, and impelled by the energetic character of the new leader, the settlement at Tortugas was soon in a state of complete restoration, and every thing connected with its concerns in a bright career of prosperity. But the national prejudices of Willis were too active and too implacable to rule a community whose tranquillity, and even existence, demanded the sundering of every tie but that which bound the individual in unreserved loyalty to the cause of the fraternity of which he was a member. For some alleged violations of propriety, real or supposed, Willis and his companions ungratefully fell upon the French portion of the inhabitants, disarmed them, murdered part of them in cold blood, and sent the remainder across to the main island. These exiles, thus deprived of their homes, scattered themselves along the coast of St. Domingo, dejected, and many of them in despair. The scene of their former happiness and the place of their early enterprize, seemed forever wrested from their possession by an English refugee, whom in the ebb of his fortunes they had taken under their protection, and in an evil hour made the ruler of their fraternity. They dreaded his power and wrecklessness, should they hazard a return to the home whence he had expelled them; and around them was nothing but a wild waste of woods, claimed with a cruel jealousy by the Spaniards, to whom their little handful were in danger of falling a sacrifice to expiate old sins and new. In this state of misery and hopelessness many of them embarked for the island of St. Christophers, which had been repeopled, and had become the chief settlement of the French in the West Indies.

They were favorably received by the chief of that colony, whose name was Du Poincy, who, as if by a special agency of Providence, was at that very time busying himself to bring about the occupation of St. Domingo

by a colony of French residents. From the accounts of the actual condition of that island given him by the refugees, this Catholic chieftain conceived the double design of expelling the English intruders from the scene of their ill gotten power, and of aiding the church by sending thither all the Huguenots in his government, together with his second in command, who was the leader of these heretics. The latter was a navy officer of considerable talent, named Le Vasseur, a Huguenot whom persecution for his faith had driven from France and made the leader of a band of companions in misfortune to the islands of the West Indies. They had been received and protected by the chief of the colony of St. Christophers; but two religious factions would not at that period live in mutual forbearance, and the zeal of the propagandists of either faith much embroiled the peacefulness of Du Poincy's government. Le Vasseur was the man to whom the whole body of the Huguenots looked as their leader and champion, and his warlike ability was correspondent to the influence it had given him. He was immediately commissioned by Du Poincy to fit out an expedition for the gulf of Mexico, and to land all who should volunteer themselves to accompany him, on the islands of Tortugas and St. Domingo. The Huguenots of St. Christophers all joined his standard, and Le Vasseur in a few days landed at a place called Port Margot, on the coast of St. Domingo, near Tortugas. Here they commenced a settlement, and Le Vasseur felt that his power and influence were drawn from sure sources, as he was the first chief of St. Domingo whose authority was derived from the marine bureau of France, and his moral influence over his followers was founded on the sympathies of a kindred faith in religion. He soon paid a visit to Willis in Tortugas, and the mutual suspicions of these two leaders were cloaked under the external forms of amity and reciprocated pledges of assistance. Every thing proceeded in settled peace and security for a time—but where distrust and secret hatred are uppermost in the thoughts it is impossible but some irrepressible action will burst forth to provoke to open rupture. Willis made an attack upon some of the followers of Le Vasseur, who were visiting the settlement of the former; and though it was not attended by fatal

consequences, yet the act was sufficient to draw forth a complaint and remonstrance from the veteran Le Vasseur. Complaint and remonstrance from Le Vasseur but drew forth insult and defiance from Willis, till the mutual recrimination brought on actual hostilities.*

Le Vasseur immediately rallied his forces, and with admirable celerity of movement landed on Tortugas in the month of August, 1640, and at the head of forty-nine followers attacked Willis with fury, carried his settlement by storm, and made a prisoner of his antagonist. The English were now in turn expelled from Tortugas, and sailed for the island of St. Catharine; Le Vasseur strengthened in his power by success, and far from the control of his original patron and the restraints of the government at home, reigned in absolute authority over the settlements on either coast. Du Poincy and the French West India Company were both forgotten or defied, and his followers, in voluntary subordination to his rule, pursued their business of hunting and their trade in hides.

The hostilities of the Spaniards were again provoked by the growth and extension of the new settlement on their coast; but bold and well trained to arms themselves, and led by a veteran commander, the buccaneers now repulsed the attack with much loss to the assailants. New vigor and courage were given to Le Vasseur's men by this success, and they believed nothing now existed to prevent their carrying their settlements to the interior of the island, and driving the Spaniards from those hunting grounds which the latter considered their national right. The French West India Company, now more than ever suspicious of Le Vasseur's growing independence, sent peremptory orders to his patron, Du Poincy, to fit out an expedition from St. Christophers, and take possession of Tortugas himself. The unsettled state of the latter in his own government forbade the attempt, but Du Poincy despatched his nephew with a small complement of men, to make trial of persuasion to induce Le Vasseur to submit to the Company. Le Vasseur, secure in his distant retreat, and conscious of his power over his followers, bade open defiance to this Company, and gave a downright refusal to the summons of Du Poincy's

* Moreau de St. Mery.

nephew. The latter, unable with his scanty armament to enforce his orders upon the lawless recusant, returned to report to his uncle the failure of his mission: but Le Vasseur still remained unmolested in the enjoyment of his independence, in consequence of the disturbed condition of Du Poincy's own command.

An expedition was at length fitted out in the year 1652, which was placed under the command of the chevalier Fontenay, who was ordered to seize upon the person of the usurping Le Vasseur, and bring the colonies of Tortugas and St. Domingo under the legitimate control of the French West India Company. Fontenay found on his arrival, that Le Vasseur had, a few days before, fallen in a private quarrel with two of his own officers. The new functionary took immediate and undisputed possession of his power, and is ranked as the first of those governors of St. Domingo whose authority was derived immediately from France. An augmentation was made to the population of the settlement by the arrival of Fontenay's expedition, and his followers readily incorporated themselves with the former residents, so as to add much to the efficiency of the colony's resources in war. Its attitude towards the Spaniards had already become threatening and formidable, and the latter were again troubled by the heartburnings of their old jealousy towards their intruding neighbors. They viewed not only with anxiety but with absolute horror the fearful growth of this nest of enemies within their own limits and felt themselves urged by the desire of self preservation to drive them from the territory.

A new expedition was set on foot of a force sufficient to ensure from defeat, and the French were attacked with fury in the head quarters of their settlement, Tortugas. The Spaniards succeeded, and Fontenay was forced to fly before them to the coast of St. Domingo, whence in dismay he soon sailed for France. The Buccaneers were driven from their old asylum, and a Spanish garrison was placed on Tortugas to prevent their return, as well as to preserve that region to the power of Spain. The buccaneers scattered along the coast of St. Domingo were humbled and subdued but not annihilated, and that with such men was sufficient for them not to despair. They

continued to follow their usual employments in defiance, or rather in recklessness of the Spanish power.

Among the old companions of Le Vasseur was the chevalier Du Rausset, who after the fall of his chief had joined the standard of his successor, Fontenay, and he accompanied the latter to France. Deeply in love with the wild amenities of the life he had led in the freedom of the wilderness, and still sympathising with the fortunes of his companions in adversity, Du Rausset proposed to the West India Company a plan to retake Tortugas, if a sufficient force should be put under his command. His proposal was listened to, and an expedition of five hundred men was fitted out and placed under his command. On the coast of St. Domingo they were joined by the scattered remnant of their countrymen, and with this reinforcement were soon prepared to give battle to the Spanish garrison of Tortugas. The attack was made in the enthusiasm of the moment, and the Spaniards were compelled to fly before their fiercer opponents, leaving the settlements strengthened by a new accession to its numbers, and the much contested island of Tortugas again in possession of the French. This signal success secured to the French a long tranquillity from farther Spanish hostility, and the colony began to assume by degrees a character of permanence, in consequence of the dawning of an agricultural spirit among the settlers, who now began to unite the business of planting with the more precarious employment of hunting. The land which had hitherto been left wild and unappropriated began to be enclosed by boundaries, and assigned to individual possession. The colonists grew dissatisfied with Tortugas, and crossed the narrow strait to fix themselves on the more inviting lands of St. Domingo, and in its state of partial abandonment Du Rausset set up a claim to the entire possession of Tortugas as his own. This claim was contested by some of his compatriots, and the governor sailed for France to lay his pretensions before the parliament of Paris; leaving his authority in the mean time in the hands of one Deschamps, his nephew. A lettre de cachet sent Du Rausset to the Bastile soon after his arrival, from which he extricated himself but by

consenting to sell his claim over Tortugas to the West India Company.

The hardy and restless adventurers who composed the population of the western coast of St. Domingo soon spread themselves far and wide over that peninsula which forms the northern shore of the bay of Leogane, and even crossed that bay to the deserted Spanish town of Yaguana, on the southern coast. Among those who attempted a renewal of that settlement was a gentleman of Anjou, whose name was Bertrand d'Ogeron, who by his personal qualities as well as the energy and intelligence of his mind, was well adapted to the situation which he so long and so admirably occupied. The old French colonists revered the name of Ogeron, and from the epoch of his power in St. Domingo they dated its first rise to the dignity of a colony of France. When Ogeron passed for the first time into the new world in the year 1656, he had already served fifteen years as a captain in the French marine. But as no wisdom or forethought is a sure preventive of misfortune, he was destined to fail in all his earliest enterprises in the West Indies. The first circumstance known to the world as connected with these enterprises is, that in the year 1655 he was a member and employé of a company in the south of France, which had for its object the formation of establishments on the continent of America. The next year he sailed for Martinique in furtherance of the designs embraced in the company's charter. In leaving France Ogeron had directed that the other preparations of men and merchandize fitted to the object he was to have in view, should be sent to Martinique, which was the place of rendezvous. Through accident or bad faith, Ogeron waited at Martinique without gaining any intelligence of the supplies that were to be sent to him, and which never came. Convinced that the main object of his voyage much exceeded his limited means to accomplish, he sailed for St. Domingo, to attempt a settlement on the shores of that island. Doubling the Mole St. Nicholas, he entered the Bight of Leogane, and made for the deserted town of Yaguana. But he was shipwrecked on a reef at the entrance of the harbor, and lost his entire cargo of effects and merchandize. This event obliged him to take up his

residence for a long time with the buccaneers, over whom his sagacious and intrepid spirit soon wrought an ascendancy which made his influence great among them. He, after some time had elapsed, sailed for his native country, which he soon quitted again in a ship loaded by himself. But on his arrival in the West Indies, having entrusted his cargo to a man who was to proceed with it to Jamaica, Ogeron, through the faithlessness of his agent, lost the whole of his property. These disasters, which reduced him to poverty, did not, however, impair his reputation; on the contrary, his address in extricating himself from the embarrassments of misfortune gained him new honors among a people with whom heroism of character had such respect and veneration. On his second return to France, Ogeron entered into the service of the French West India Company, and was immediately despatched as governor of the colonies of Tortugas and St. Domingo, with instructions to extend the possessions of France in that quarter of the island so as one day to expel the Spaniards from the territory they now occupied. Ogeron was peculiarly skilful in reading the human character, and his temper was bouyant and enthusiastic. He knew when to yield, if he could not stem the tide of popular passion in attempting a public measure. His policy was broad and extensive, and his exertions irrepressible in the furtherance of a measure from which he thought good was to flow. He entered upon the duties of his new employment with a full knowledge of what was the true interest of the colony, as well as of the peculiar character of the people whom it was his lot to govern. The latter was a task of no easy performance. Men were to be subjected to the permanent restraints of law who had for most of their lives roved the world in all the independence of a total insulation from their kind. Respect for the rights of property and order was to be taught to pirates, who had drawn their subsistence from plundering on the high seas, and civilization and humanity instilled into the bosoms of banditti perfected in crime. But Ogeron, by long acquaintance with the peculiarities of those who were placed under his government, knew the nature of the material furnished to his skill, and did not despair from its intractableness. He began by encouraging his col-

onists in their attempts in agriculture, as an employment that would give more wealth as well as a greater fixedness to the settlement than the precarious business of the chase. Plantations of cocoa, tobacco, and in a short time of indigo, were established along the coast. At former epochs of the settlement a few negroes had been introduced into it, among the spoils gathered by the expeditions of the buccaneers against the Spanish colonies. They were now found eminently useful in the agriculture which had been established; and as the wealth of the colonists advanced by the teeming harvests they gathered from their small plantations, the demand for slaves created a steady traffic in that species of property.

There soon arose another kind of laborers in the colony. This was that of the *engagées*, or whites, who sold themselves to servitude. A rage for emigration and enterprise in the new world had now extended itself to France, and crowds of adventurers were eager to seek on any terms the realization of those bright hopes of wealth which were imaged forth in the excitement of the hour. These enthusiastic emigrants, in default of means to pay their passage to America, sold themselves to the ship master for the term of three years, on the single condition that they were to be furnished a passage to the place of the ship's destination. On his arrival in the West Indies the ship-master sold them to the planters for the remainder of their term of servitude, and they were employed as laborers to cultivate the land. St. Domingo soon abounded in this species of servants, and together with the negro slaves they performed all the labor of the colony. But it soon became apparent that the white laborer could not long endure exposure under the burning heat of the climate, and the severe toil of clearing up the rank vegetation of a primitive soil; and as the increasing wealth of the colonists furnished them with more abundant means to purchase negroes from the slave vessels, the white *engagées* fell into a low estimation as laborers, and becoming planters themselves in turn, the class was in a short time extinct.

Ogeron felt the importance of preserving to the colony those even whose restlessness of character withheld them from all fondness for the arts of peace. This object he

effected by gratifying their propensity for war and adventure. He obtained from the government of Portugal commissions to make attacks upon the Spaniards, though the latter were in a state of profound peace with France, and he employed with efficiency and success the restlessness of his followers, by acting on the offensive against the frontier towns of the Spanish territory. After this an expedition was set on foot directed against the town of Santiago, which was eminently successful. The town was carried by assault, given up to pillage, and afterwards set on fire. The Spaniards fled to the interior, leaving a great amount of booty, in negroes and productions of the island, to repay the enterprise of the French, and add to the resources of their settlement. While such kind of encouragement was offered to the more warlike spirits of his colony, Ogeron did not neglect those whose inclinations tended towards the more peaceable employment of agriculture. To encourage those who were struggling with the difficulties always encountered in setting up a new establishment in a primitive soil, he granted them loans, to furnish the means of forming their plantations, often without interest, and to be repaid or not according to the success or disposition of the borrower. Nothing that would benefit the recent changes in the nature of employment within the colony, that would excite a fondness for them, or give them steadfastness and growth, was overlooked in the vigilant policy of this celebrated leader. The cheerless and unprofitable celibacy of his followers came next in his thoughts, and a plan was soon matured to remove it. With his characteristic decision he embarked for France, and after a little absence returned to the scene of his labors with a cargo of high attractiveness to the buccaneer Benedicts of his colony, as well as with a large number of new male emigrants to add to its strength and population. Fifty young female orphans had embarked with Ogeron, to become the wives of the colonists. They were destined to minister to the graces and amenities of domestic life, to tame down the rough qualities of their future lords, and stamp a new character upon the population, which was to extend far into the future history of the colony. Ogeron distributed them among his followers more as the rewards of successful

industry than the objects of a kindred sympathy appropriated by a free selection. They were put up at auction, and amid a host of admiring bidders, were knocked down to him whose soil had been the earliest in cultivation, or was the most productive in actual wealth to minister to the wants of its owner. Marriage was thus made a matter of pure merchandize, but among such impetuous and heady spirits the wary Ogeron by this proceeding saved the integrity and peacefulness of the colony, in giving no room for jealousy and revenge, which among such a population was so ready to end in disaster and bloodshed.

This first importation to supply the matrimonial market of the colony was followed by another, but of a coarser kind. The rapid sale of Ogeron's adventure, when it was known in France, became the signal for the embarkation of a large number of females whose characters were less pure. When arrived, these latter engaged themselves for a period of three years at a time, as wives to the colonists. This was a severe blow to the morals of the colony, but by the active superintendence of Ogeron it became nevertheless a cause of giving fixedness as well as population to the colony. The latter arrival of female emigrants was soon all appropriated, and those female adventurers became the maternal ancestors of many a proud colonial family in later times. The buccaneer was too much of the sailor to be over fastidious in his choice of a wife. It is said that each one, when he received to his cabin the female who had fallen to his lot through the contingencies of the market, addressed her in these words: "Whoever you are, I take you. If you had belonged to another you would have never come hither to belong to me. No matter for the past, I demand of you no account of that, for I have no reason to blush because you may have committed errors before you belonged to me. Be attentive to your conduct in future, that is all I demand:" then striking with his hand the barrel of his musket, he added, "if you are unfaithful, this will avenge me; if you deceive me, *this* will not."

Such had been the wise spirit and enterprising policy of Ogeron's administration, that the wild and unproductive settlement, composed of a few hundred hunters, had now completely changed its character to a populous and

busy colony, advancing in the way of peace to rapid civilization and wealth. Even now the population had been tripled, and industry and prosperity were giving it a rapid and permanent increase. Tortugas was no longer an important part of the colony, and the town of Port de Paix had risen to the dignity of a considerable capital.

The Spaniards still maintained a hostile attitude towards their intruding neighbors, the French, and the frontiers of Ogeron's colony were subjected to a continued and relentless harassment by their armed parties. The French had spread themselves along the shores of the Bight of Léogane, and a small colony chose a spot situated on the shores of a fine harbor formed by an arm of the main Bight, and called Gonaïves. This settlement had grown to an importance sufficient to awaken the hostility of the Spaniards against it. General Vandelmof, a distinguished officer in the wars of the Low Countries, had been sent from Spain to assume the command of the Spanish forces destined to drive the French from their settlements on Tortugas and St. Domingo. Seizing a favorable moment, he marched on Gonaïves at the head of five hundred men. The buccaneers were then engaged in the chase on the banks of the river Artibonite, but they were apprised of the meditated attack by one of their number, who had seen the Spanish forces in motion. Gathering in haste to the number of one hundred, the French met Vandelmof's detachment in a mountain defile, and attacked it with fury. The veteran found himself completely outgeneraled by the rapid movements of his irregular adversaries. Before order could be restored to the Spaniards, Vandelmof had fallen, and what was left of his army fled in the utmost consternation.

While these events had been in progress in the western part of the island, the Spaniards of the eastern portion had suffered from the descent on their coast of a powerful armament, which, however it might fail in the attainment of its object, threw the Spanish colonists into a fearful panic, and subjected a long range of coast to devastation. The English fleet under admiral Penn having aboard a large and effective land force, under General Venables, which had been fitted out by the Protector Cromwell, and destined to carry war and conquest among

the settlements of Spain in the West Indies, arrived off the southern coast of Hispaniola. A descent was made by landing troops at two different points, above the city of Santo Domingo. But from the fault of putting ashore one of the columns too far above the city, it lost its way in the woods, and, overpowered by the heat of the sun, and unable to find any water to quench its thirst, it became dispirited and quite inefficient before it could form a junction with the other column. The delay caused by this mishap gave time to the Spaniards to rally from their panic and prepare themselves to act on the offensive against their invaders. The Spanish cavalry charged the advance guard of the English with their lances with such effect that the latter, overcome by severe fatigue, and unused to that strange weapon, broke and fell back in disorder, leaving their commander and fifty men dead upon the scene of the conflict. The English commander, having rallied the fugitives and refreshed his men, made a new advance on the city. Through the treachery of their negro guide the English were now drawn into an ambuscade, and attacked by the Spaniards with a steady coolness that soon threw the whole army into complete disorder. The troops could not be recovered from their panic, but soon fled in consternation, leaving their commander in chief and six hundred men dead on the field of battle. The invaders were unsuccessful in every thing—they counted upon the assistance of the slaves against their masters, but they proved themselves devotedly faithful towards those to whom their faith was due, and the stragglers and foraging parties from the English camp were attacked by gangs of armed negroes. Distressed by the heat, and dispirited by ill luck, disease came to aid in their destruction. They soon re-embarked, with a thousand men less than when they landed from their ships. The expedition sailed for Jamaica, where it was destined to wipe out its present disgrace by wresting that beautiful island forever from the power of Spain.*

Though Ogeron had been commissioned in his power by the crown of France, in the exercise of his authority he was likewise the agent of the French West India Company. Anxious to increase the profits of his employ-

* Clarendon.

ers, while he was giving vigor and extension to the colony, he braved the inflammable spirit of the colonists, by restricting their traffic to those vessels alone which were sent out by the Company. By cautious effort, and the power of persuasion, this attack on their long independence was borne by the colonists with a sullen assent, and an exterior of suspicious sufferance. Tranquillity prevailed, and the wealth of the colony was daily augmenting, when Ogeron, too confident in his great powers of government, proceeded to raise the profits of the traffic carried on in the ships of the Company to the extortions of an odious monopoly. The colonists were thus prohibited from trading with the vessels of other nations, and forced to supply their wants out of the productions of France at the most exorbitant prices. Discontent soon burst out in open sedition. A population with arms in their hands, which they had ever been inured to use in the redress of all grievances, immediately taught Ogeron the impolicy and danger of his enterprise. He was insulted and driven from his command, and a long scene of disorder succeeded, which almost hurled from its foundation the fair fabric of prosperity which the governor had been so long and painfully laboring to rear. During these disputes two Dutch ships arrived at Petit Goave, and the colonists forthwith assumed the right to break through the artificial regulations of their governor, by purchasing and landing the cargoes. Ogeron immediately sailed from Port Margot to put a check on this spirit of insubordination, but he had the severe mortification to be resisted from entering the harbor of the insurgents. A severe cannonading followed, and fifteen hundred shots were fired from the shore at the governor's vessel. Finding it unattainable to put down the seditious spirit every where prevalent in the colony, Ogeron returned to Tortugas, and despatched a vessel for succors to enable him to maintain his authority and the interests of the West India Company among the population of the colony. The desperadoes in free trade still persisted in maintaining their attitude of defiance, and continued to traffic with the foreign vessels that lay at their settlement.

Admiral Galbaret, who was then at the windward islands, received orders to sail to the assistance of Ogeron,

and he arrived at Tortugas on the 1st of February, 1671. Receiving Ogeron aboard the fleet, it proceeded in a few days to Petit Goave. An attack was made on the settlement with all the forces of the squadron, and the rebellious colonists were soon forced to flee to the woods, and Ogeron, with excessive severity, put fire to their town. From this successful attack on Petit Goave, Galbaret sailed again for Tortugas, but Ogeron with one vessel proceeded to a small settlement in the neighborhood, called Anse a Veau, where also there existed a swarm of insurgents. Ogeron landed here, and was immediately surrounded by a hundred armed men, clamorous to abjure all allegiance to him and the West India Company, and declaring their determination to submit no longer to such rulers as had been imposed upon them in times past. They added, to the dismay of Ogeron, that they had chosen their own officers to rule over them in future—one Nicholas Gairin as syndic of the place, and Jean le Messenger as his lieutenant. Even the personal liberty of Ogeron was threatened should he protract his stay, and two of his officers were seized and sent as prisoners aboard the Dutch ships in the harbor. Ogeron, defeated in his attempt to persuade the colonists to return to their allegiance, and glad to get out of their power, went aboard his vessel, and having obtained the return of his officers by a negotiation with the Dutch captains, he sailed again for his capital. The open hostility to the restrictions of Ogeron spread throughout the colony, and the whole settlement was heaving with the throes of an incipient revolution. The efforts of Ogeron to make head against the sedition were incessant and generally well directed. The priest Lemarre, curate of Tortugas, and the syndic of the same place, who had made themselves ringleaders in the insubordination, were arrested and sent to France for trial; but the fierce qualities of the old buccaneer spirit were now roused into bitter exercise, and nothing would lay the storm but to give up the obnoxious regulations.

Ogeron yielded at last to the stern necessity of the case, and it was arranged that any French vessel should be permitted to traffic with the colony by paying to the agents of the Company a port charge of five per cent. for entrance and clearance. Ogeron did more than

yield: he estimated his popularity too highly to suffer it to be dimmed by the least tarnish. After the arrangement had been made he procured two vessels at his own expense for the use of the colonists. They received aboard the crops of the colonists at a moderate freight, and exchanged them in the ports of France for the productions of Europe, which were returned to the original exporters.

Tranquillity was soon fully restored to the colony; and partly from ambition to extend the dominions of France in the West Indies, but chiefly to give employment to the restless spirit of his followers, Ogeron set on foot an expedition against the island of Curacoa, held by the Dutch. The settlements of Tortugas and St. Domingo were drained to furnish men for the enterprise, and with high confidence in the superior abilities of their chief, and more in their own personal prowess, the expedition sailed from Tortugas, to the number of four hundred men, in the year 1673. But in beating up to gain his point of destination, the vessel of Ogeron was carried in the night on the coast of Porto Rico and completely lost. The French were immediately made prisoners by the Spaniards, and remained in close custody for a great length of time. At length Ogeron, on the faith of making a speedy return to ransom himself and companions from their captivity, succeeded in effecting his departure from the island. Embarking in a frail vessel during a season of tempests, he passed through a thousand dangers, and at last reached Tortugas in safety. With his usual promptness and activity, he immediately set about raising the means to effect the liberation of his countrymen who were retained as prisoners in Porto Rico.

Another expedition was soon raised and appointed, composed of five hundred men—a number which drained the colony of nearly all its efficient population. The vessels could not reach the island of their destination, and the unfortunate Frenchmen who were there retained as prisoners continued in their captivity till most of their number died; and none of them ever returned to their homes in St. Domingo. This loss to its population was a severe blow to the colony, and a long gloom overhung its hopes and prosperity in consequence. But the fame

of Ogeron's administration, as well as the air of importance which had now been given to the rising fortunes of the colony, attracted a tide of emigration from France to its shores. These almost monthly arrivals of eager and aspiring adventurers spread themselves over the territory of the settlement, and soon renewed another population to occupy the places of those who had been lost to the colony. The business of agriculture continued to extend itself—new plantations were cleared and put in a thrifty cultivation. The perpetual sun and deep virgin soil favored the rapid and luxuriant growth of whatever was planted, and the industrious colonist found himself surrounded, with little labor, by exuberant sources of wealth springing up on every side of him. While private industry was thus daily adding to the importance of the colony, the public prosperity was constantly guarded and ensured by the wise administrator at the head of its affairs. Roads were made, to open a communication between the different points of the settlement; the sites of new towns were selected with a prudent forecast and discernment, and new tropical productions were introduced, to add to the riches of the colony by their growth.

Ogeron had ever cherished the opinion that the French could one day expel the Spaniards from the island of St. Domingo, and extend their settlements over its whole territory. To the interrogations of the French ministry on that subject he returned the reply that he would answer for the success of the measure with his head, should a sufficient fleet be furnished him to blockade the city of Santo Domingo. Now when the French colony had extended itself throughout the whole western shore of the island, and was possessed of ample means within itself, not only for its defence from abroad, but to send expeditions to make conquests in other parts, he more than ever gave himself to thoughts of his favorite enterprise. He sailed for France to submit his matured plans to the ministry, but his eloquent representations, which were suspected of being too sanguine, failed of arousing the requisite ambition at the court of Versailles. In the still weak condition of the French colony, and the overestimated strength of the Spanish power in the island, the measure was deemed for the time impracticable.

Spanish hostility was not now so urgent and formidable as formerly; but the revengeful spirit of the Spanish herdsmen, who hated their competitors in the chase, was often expended in bloody attacks on the defenceless frontiers of Ogeron's colony. A small armament, furnished by the ministry to reinforce the power of the colonists, and led on by Ogeron, it is easy to believe would have soon annihilated the power of Spain in St. Domingo, and spared the French colonists the long succession of war and desolation that was to follow. Ogeron never returned to the scene of his authority. Soon after he reached Paris he was seized with a dysentery, of which in a few days he died, at the end of the year 1675, before he had enjoyed the gratification or been mortified by the refusal of an audience of the king.

Ogeron undoubtedly owed much to the epoch and particular situation of the colony of St. Domingo for the fame he acquired by the salutary changes wrought in its character. But with every allowance for adventitious aid, his talents and success have gained him the renown of the founder of a nation. For this character he possessed the necessary qualifications. To a singular penetration into the thoughts and designs of others, he united a spirit that shrunk not before obstacles which would make others pause in their career, and a certain earnest enthusiasm which carried opposition a willing captive to his wishes. His memory was always fondly cherished in the colony, and the epoch of his administration was reckoned the dawn of its first age, as that of Larnage was afterwards accounted the second. During his rule the colony was first brought to the arts of peace, and began a steady advance in wealth and respectability, which went on without any intermission till its final overthrow. The plain of Cape François became settled with plantations, the shores of the Bight of Leogane were peopled almost through their whole extent, and a colony of French was established even on the shores of Samana, in the eastern extremity of the island.

It was difficult to find a successor to Ogeron, who possessed as the latter those peculiar qualities necessary to guide the progress of a rising State. M. Pouancey, the nephew of Ogeron, joined to the advantages of a fine

person and popular address the favor of near relationship to the idol of the colony. Though possessed of more haughtiness of spirit, he yet participated with his uncle in those arts of captivation by which the latter succeeded in carrying forward the objects of his policy. M. Pouancey judiciously limited himself to follow in the footsteps of his great predecessor, and gave himself no latitude but to extend and consolidate the beneficial institutions so auspiciously begun. It was objected to his administration, that his views were too cautious and narrow. The imaginations of the colonists were no longer dazzled by magnificent enterprises. The little settlement of Samana, situated at the distance of three hundred miles from the main body of their countrymen, were so harassed by the hostilities of the Spaniards, that they were forced to apply to M. Pouancey for assistance to maintain themselves from utter destruction. To their regret he ordered the settlement to be broken up, and the population added to that of the plain of Cape François. But an expedition was fitted out under his auspices against the Spaniards of St. Jago de Cuba, which, after making a descent on that coast, returned with much booty. Though unendowed with the ambition and activity of his predecessor, M. Pouancey was judicious and attentive to increase the solid growth of the colony, and make its prosperity permanent. He manifested much true judgment and prudent forecast by his endeavors to settle the rich plain of the Cape. He saw its great susceptibilities, and looked with the eye of prophecy on the immense agency it would exert in the future fortunes of the colony. The increase in its plantations of tobacco, cocoa and indigo, manifest the eagerness with which that fertile and extensive plain was appropriated and put in cultivation. To repel the incursions of the Spaniards and preserve this rich accession to his available territories, M. Pouancey applied himself to fortify it against the depredations of the natural enemy. The Spaniards on their part viewed with deep indignation the daily encroachments of the French on this beautiful plain, and prepared for immediate hostilities. The French were thrown into panic, but M. Pouancey diverted the meditated blow by a counter movement directed on another point of the Spanish

frontiers, which was effectual for that time in saving his favorite settlement from the destructiveness of a hostile inroad.*

In the year 1679, there occurred an intestine war in the French settlement, from a negro rebellion, which checked the prosperity, and came near to destroy the very existence of the colony. A negro named Padrejan had murdered his master, to whom he had belonged for many years, and after the commission of the crime took refuge in the island of Tortugas, now neglected and changed almost to a wilderness. Here he found an asylum from justice, and a fit scene in which to mature new projects of crime. Wedded to evil and wickedness, he proceeded to tempt other negroes from fidelity to their masters, and having gathered around him a large band of runaways, Padrejan conceived the design of massacring all the whites of the colony. His stupid followers, blinded to the impossibility of the attempt, hoped by this deed to regain the favor and be pardoned of their old Spanish masters, whose service they had left either as captives in war or as fugitives from justice, and they thus thought to regain their old homes and masters with favor and gratulation instead of punishment. Padrejan had from this circumstance but little difficulty in persuading the negroes to be participators in his schemes of villainy. The latter gathered fast around their leader, in the anxiety and trepidation that characterize their movements of insurrection. They crossed the narrow strait that separates Tortugas from St. Domingo, and invaded the settlements around Port Margot, putting every thing to fire and sword. The whites were murdered, or fled before them, and Padrejan, left in undisputed possession of the country, proceeded to post himself on the summit of a high mountain situated between St. Anne and St. Louis. Here he formed a sort of breastwork of the trunks of trees, and from this entrenched camp carried desolation and death among the plantations of the neighborhood. All the whites who were taken were murdered, and all the slaves were set at liberty and made to join in the rebellion. The colonists were struck with consternation at the alarming progress of the insurrection and the murderous spirit that followed

* Malo.

in the train of its success. M. Pouancey, who was then at Port de Paix, found his situation sufficiently embarrassing. He was not only indisposed to sacrifice the lives of his colonists in such a warfare, and in an attack on a post that was inaccessible, but with too much timidity he dreaded the fearful event of a failure, which would give strength to the insurgents and depress the energies of his own forces. With too much blameable inertness of disposition in such a crisis, he allowed his usual caution to degenerate into downright faint-heartedness, and doubted the ability of his forces to carry the negro encampment, and compel them to lay down their arms. Meantime the revolt was making progress from day to day, and dismay and anxiety were spread over the colony. Fortunately to the indecision of M. Pouancey there arrived at Port de Paix at this conjuncture a party of buccaneers of the sea. The governor requested their services to repress the negro insurrection, and his offers were embraced with alacrity. The buccaneers began their march immediately for the mountain where Padrejan was posted, and when arrived there, according to their system of warfare, they commenced an immediate attack. They rushed up the steep acclivity, and were in the camp of the rebels before the latter knew of their approach. The negroes were seized with consternation, and fell an easy prey to their unceremonious assailants. A great number were cut to pieces, and the remainder leaped over their bulwarks and fled. Padrejan himself was among the number slain.*

The latter part of M. Pouancey's administration was characterized by a concourse of evils that seemed to unite themselves to wither the prosperity of the colony. Of the first race of colonists but few now remained, and a new population had succeeded, less united in sympathy of feeling, and more offensively devoted to personal, selfish aggrandizement. Too eager for wealth for their own peace of mind, or the solid welfare of the colony, the public tranquillity was continually disturbed by bickerings of discontent, and opposition to the laws which regulated the public income. They believed the exactions of the latter too oppressive, and the rights of the colonists to be infringed on by certain regulations which regarded the

* Moreau de St. Mery.

sale and exportation of tobacco. Discontent was murmuring in the bosoms of the colonists, and they would listen to no accommodation. The buccaneers of the sea, whom the French regarded as their natural allies against the Spaniards, made no attempts of hostility against the enemies of the French colony, while their depredations spread terror and indignation through all the other islands, and called down the vengeance of the sufferers upon the heads of the French, who were known to be in league with the pirates who had robbed them. Thus the buccaneers were but nominal friends, while the Spaniards and Dutch were real and bitter enemies. The buccaneers were dangerous associates, and yielded no ready obedience to the rules and laws of order in the French colony itself; and the restraints of law and propriety were often outraged in the wild recklessness of their carousals, while spending their plunder ashore. The Spaniards left nothing undone to drive the French from the island, devastating their distant settlements, carrying off their slaves and cattle, and leaving ruin and despair in their march. They not only regarded the French as interlopers on a territory peculiarly their own, but deemed them the instigators of the attacks of the pirates on the settlements of their nation. To the Spaniards was soon added another unfriendly nation, of more extended and ambitious views. The former would have contented themselves to drive the French from St. Domingo, but the English, with more uncompromising hostility, wished to drive them from the islands of the West Indies. While this cloud of misfortune and evil was gathering portentous and fast over the prosperity of the colony, M. Pouancey retired to France, where he soon after died, and was succeeded by M. Cussy as chief of the colony.

The new functionary found his government in a situation quite unfavorable to the growth of its prosperity. A spirit of sedition and revolt had distilled its poison into its very vitals. License and disorder were every where predominant, and the morals of the colonists had so far departed from the standard of purer and simpler times, that there existed no restraints, either of religion or justice. This state of disorder and crime, under the influence of which the interests of the colonial proprietors

were severely suffering, called for the immediate interposition of the government at home. The appeal was listened to, and two commissioners were sent out to join their deliberations to those of M. Cussy, the governor, to devise some practicable plan to ameliorate the condition of things. The chevalier St. Laurent and M. Begon were despatched by the ministry to establish law and order within the colony, and these functionaries conducted their mission with wisdom and fidelity. To facilitate the adjustment of the succession of disputes that embroiled the peace of the colony, they remodeled the judiciary, to be more adapted to the wants of the colonists. At different epochs before this period the colony had been ruled, or oppressed, by a diversity of forms in the structure of its judiciary. Before the administration of Ogeron, the disputes of the colonists had been adjudged in a patriarchal manner by the chiefs of the colony. After Ogeron's accession to the authority of the colony, this power had been transferred to the governor; but this functionary being absolute was deemed unfitted to hold the united authority of an executive and judiciary officer in the government. To remedy this, the power had been transferred to a species of military-tribunal, composed of military officers appointed by the king, to whom were joined a few of the chief planters. This court having cognizance of all matters, and the power of decision without appeal, called its judgments *décrées*, and held its sessions at different places in the colony, where there were disputes to be settled. The commissioners and M. Cussy determined to remodel this court and adapt its organization more to the advanced condition of the colony. A tribunal was created with high powers of jurisdiction, and named the Sovereign Council of the colony. It held its sessions alternately at Petit Goave, Leogane, Cape François, and St. Louis.

The administration of justice amid the numerous litigations of the time, was by this arrangement brought home to men's business and bosoms, and a great step was taken in the way to a final adjustment of the frequent disputes about the appropriation of property. With an eye to the real prosperity of the colony, as well as to remove a grievance which was a source of perpetual heart-

burning, the commissioners wrote pressingly to the ministry on the strong impolicy of subjecting the commerce of the colony to such restrictions as pressed all its enterprise to the dust. The trade in tobacco had been almost annihilated by the high exactions of the government attending its exportation. The farther cultivation of the article was stopped, and the plantations owed their very continuance to the fabrication of indigo, the demand for which was great, and in its cultivation many a fortune had already been made.

During the administration of M. Pouancey the attention of that governor had been turned towards resettling the island of Tortugas, which had been long since deserted of its inhabitants, and had grown into a waste of thicket. With M. Cussy, also, that old nurse of rugged men was a favorite, and he attempted its restoration. But its soil was discovered to be much less practicable than that of the opposite coast of St. Domingo and the rich plain of Cape François. It was abandoned to desolation, and in a few years turned to a wilderness. But these reverses in the fortune of Tortugas were turned to the advantage of Port de Paix, which had now grown to the dignity of a capital, and was considered the most important place in the colony. M. Cussy undertook a fortification to protect its harbor, as well as to command the passage of the channel which flows between the coast and the island of Tortugas, but the attempt was never carried forward to perfection.

The French ministry now determined to carry into execution the designs of Ogeron, and attempt the entire conquest of the island. Secret instructions were sent to M. Cussy to take measures to effect this desirable object. The letter of the minister bears the date of January, 1689, and contains the following earnest language. "We would impress upon you the fact that you cannot have a greater enterprise to execute than this, and you may count with certainty, that success in the undertaking will ensure you the particular regards of his majesty: that the government of your conquest will be bestowed on you there can be no means of doubting. I pray you to give me the earliest information of the plans you will pursue to the attainment of this object"*

* Moreau de St. Mery.

The Spaniards on their side, so far from expecting an attempt to drive them from their old possessions, were unremitted in their exertions to harass the French to an abandonment of their portion of the island. They made a formidable attack on Petit Goave, by means of a brigantine and periagua, with eighty-five men. The Spaniards landed at daybreak, and by making a sudden onset at that early hour, obtained possession of the fort that protected the place, and scattered themselves about to pillage and destroy the settlement. The French soon rallied to a sense of their duty and danger. They charged the Spaniards, and in a furious attack forced them back within the fort they had captured. The Spaniards, in the ferocity and confidence of their transient success, had murdered the chief man of the settlement, brutally stabbed his pregnant wife, and in the intoxication of their hatred had refused all quarter to their prisoners. These events were remembered and fearfully avenged in the subsequent events of the day. The fort was immediately stormed by the French, and carried at the point of the bayonet. The unfortunate Spaniards were all put to death, if a few may be excepted who escaped over the palisades of the fort, and were lucky enough to reach the woods in safety.

The Spaniards were not the only people who charged the French with intruding on their prescriptive rights to the soil of St. Domingo. The Dutch had held the harbor of Leogane as a rendezvous for their ships for half a century, and they regarded with indignation the late seizure of that port by the French. Admiral Binker was despatched with a squadron of five ships to compel the relinquishment of the place to its ancient occupants. A naval action was fought in the harbor within gunshot of the town, till darkness separated the combatants, when the French ship the *Dauphin* was discovered to be on fire, and soon blew up. The next day the Dutch took possession of the seven French vessels that remained, and drove the inhabitants of the town to take shelter in the woods. The Dutch admiral having succeeded in his main attempt sailed from the harbor, leaving the French to return immediately to re-occupy the deserted tenements

which the honest Hollander thought he had forever secured to the power of the stadtholder.*

Amid these repeated attacks of foreign assailants, the colony was made to suffer by a suicidal attempt on its prosperity from a domestic source. The ministers of Louis XIV. had granted to a mercantile company of St. Maloes an exclusive privilege to traffic with the Spanish colony of Hispaniola. By this unwise policy a weapon of destruction was put in the hands of the enemies of the French colony that was far more formidable and certain in its effects than the sword. The trade of the French colonists was reduced almost to utter annihilation by the successful competition of their enemies in the articles that composed their usual traffic. They could no longer sell their tobacco to advantage, and lessened in resources to maintain their indigo establishments these also fell into embarrassment and unproductiveness. This evil policy of their rulers again drove the colonists to discontent and insubordination. A fearful revolt burst forth in the neighborhood of Cape François, which but for the prudence and decision of the magistrates threatened to overwhelm the whole colony. Through the active exertions of the governor and M. Franquesnay, the military commander of the north, the tumult was appeased for the time, and by the institution of juster measures, quiet and tranquillity were at length restored.

When these formidable obstacles were fully overcome, M. Cussy began to turn his attention to conquest. An attack was meditated on the Spanish town of Santiago, which the governor designed as an earnest of the greater enterprise of subjecting the whole island to the power of France. Orders were issued during the summer of 1690 for the colonists to prepare themselves for the expedition, and rally at the point designated as the place of rendezvous. The forces of the expedition amounted to four hundred cavalry, four hundred and fifty infantry, and one hundred and fifty negroes, who had been ordered to follow in the rear of the column, which immediately commenced its march into the wilderness of the interior. By the 6th of July the French had arrived without striking a blow at the banks of the river Yako, within half a

* Morcau de St. Mery.

league of the town of Santiago. Here there was a defile so narrow as scarcely to admit two abreast. The Spaniards, who were in ambuscade upon the heights which overlooked the defile, allowed the van of the French column to pass unmolested, and while the centre was slowly threading its way along the narrow path, they commenced a well aimed and deadly fire into the ranks of the French. The Spaniards were well posted, and the French were mowed down by an invisible enemy. In this galling fire the volunteers of Cape François perished almost to a man. The presence of mind and military talent of the governor succeeded at last in drawing out his troops to more open ground, whence he pushed on boldly for the city. To his astonishment he found its gates open in abandonment or treachery, and the French were for the second time in possession of the place. They found all the churches open, and the private dwellings left unfurnished; but what excited their astonishment was to find immense quantities of food and drink prepared with the utmost skill, and displayed in the most tempting manner. Suspecting treachery from this unusual providence in a vanquished enemy, M. Cussy ordered that the provisions should not be eaten, and it was soon found that a few who had unwittingly partaken of the food and drinks, had become almost immediately ill. The report spread among the French forthwith that the provisions had been poisoned, and terror at the danger they had escaped, soon changed to the wildest indignation at the cowardice of the enemy. They clamorously demanded of their commander that the order should be given to set the town on fire. This request was granted, on condition that the churches and convents should be spared. The town was soon wrapt in a general conflagration, and soon became a heap of smouldering ruins. As the rainy season had commenced, and the mountain streams were beginning to overflow, so as to threaten the detention of his forces in the enemy's country, M. Cussy gave the order for a retreat, and the French hastened from the Spanish territory, proud of their success, and loaded with the spoils of the vanquished town.

Scarcely had the French returned from the expedition above related, when by the seizure of St. Christophers

by the English, the colony of St. Domingo received a large accession to its population from the conquered island. The French who had been forced to abandon their homes to the invading enemy, fled to Martinique and St. Domingo. More than eighteen hundred persons arrived in the latter colony during the month of August, and were received with a gracious welcome by their countrymen. They were distributed in the neighborhood of Port de Paix, in the plain of Cape François, or on the shores of Leogane. If misfortunes never come singly, good fortune itself is sometimes the forerunner of adversity. The joy and hope which arose on the colony by this sudden increase in its population, was destined to give place in a short time to sensations of grief and terror. In consequence of the scanty accommodations in which to receive such a body of emigrants, and the sorrow and depression into which their sad fortune had cast them, a sweeping pestilence soon broke out among them, and numbers made the scenes of their new residence their final abode. An afflictive drought spread itself over the face of the island, and famine, disease and death were busy in its train. A large number of the population of Port de Paix were swept away by this scourge, and anxiety and despair were spread like palls of darkness over the colony. The cares and exertions of the governor to watch over the welfare of his people in this alarming crisis, were unceasing. The deserted island of Tortugas was fitted up with places of residence, and applied to the use of a retreat for those who were recovering from their malady, and a shelter for those who were flying from its ravages.

The next year the Spaniards, to revenge the sack of Santiago, put every thing in movement to make a counter invasion on the French territory, directed particularly against the plain and town of Cape François. They mustered a formidable armament of three thousand men, and prepared to penetrate into the settlements of Cape François by approaches both by sea and land. The French governor in the weakened state of his colony could not raise more than one third the effective force of the Spaniards, but he marched to the scene of action with a determined heart. It was the plan of the governor

to march on a place called Jacquenzy, and with one column to dispute the enemy's landing in the bay of Caracol, while another column was to harass the approach of the enemy by land by making an attack on his flank. But the opinion of M. Franquesnay, military commander of the North, prevailed. This was to act upon the defensive against such superiority in numbers, and to wait for the enemy in the plain of Limonade. Subsequent events proved that there was little wisdom in this, though at the time it seemed a dictate of prudence. The French took up their position in a savanna on the night of the 20th of January, 1691, and awaited in silence and anxiety the approach of the enemy. Their right was supported by a little eminence that overlooked the plain, and their left by a thick wood that bordered the sea. A small ravine separated the two armies. On the morning of the 21st the Spaniards began to advance, and the French centre was almost immediately borne back by an amount of force three or four times superior to their own. The French fought with desperation, but with nothing to support them against the charges of an overwhelming force they were soon thrown into irremediable confusion. The frequent and rapid charges of the Spanish cavalry, with their long lances, heaped the field with dead, and M. Cussy and M. Franquesnay, the first and second in command, fell at the head of the French column. Such a contest could not last long: the French broke and fled in the utmost disorder, leaving three hundred of their countrymen dead upon the field. The borough of Limonade was destroyed, and Cape François left exposed to the advance of the victorious Spaniards. Their very tender mercies were cruelty itself. All the settlements along the track of their march were laid waste, and neither men, women or children were spared on the plantations. None of the French escaped but those who succeeded in concealing themselves in the thickest of the woods, whither many of them had fled with their families, effects and negroes. Cape François was at length entered by the Spaniards, and that recent though thrifty settlement was given up to pillage for eleven hours, and afterwards wholly destroyed. The Spaniards, after spreading desolation and ruin through the whole line of their

march, returned at last to their own territory loaded with booty. This invasion was a severe blow to the French colony, as in addition to the governor and chief commander of its troops, it cost the destruction of nearly all the men of note among its population. The flourishing settlements on the Spanish frontier and in the plain of Cape François were made a mass of ruins, and the wealth of the proprietors was found on their return to their plantations all scattered to the winds of heaven.*

The story of these disasters soon reached France, accompanied by pressing requests for immediate relief. The first thing to be done was to select a proper person as governor of the colony. From the peculiar situation of the latter—its heterogeneous population, with all its wrongheadedness and habits of insubordination—this was a task of no little difficulty. The French ministry at last made choice of M. Ducasse, a native of Berne, to undertake this difficult employ. Ducasse had been one of the directors of the company of Senegal, engaged in traffic to the African coast for gold dust, ivory and slaves; and from his intimate acquaintance with the peculiar nature and situation of the West India colonies, his knowledge of business and determination of character, was tolerably fitted for the station in which he was destined to act. On his arrival at Cape François in 1691, he found the colony in a condition of deplorable wretchedness. Its finest settlements were in ruins, its population reduced to a scattered handful of impoverished desperadoes, its fortifications unmanned and in desolation, and the inhabitants of the coast trembling with fear and anxiety from the expected descent of a large Spanish fleet that was hovering in those seas. M. Ducasse commenced his arduous duties with an alacrity and decision which proved the wisdom of those who had selected him for the government of the colony. He sailed immediately for Leogane and Petit Goave aboard the same vessel in which he had made his passage from France. The fortifications of those places and the other means of defence he hastened to put in a condition to repel the expected invasion, and every measure of prudent foresight was carried into effect with such skill and resolution that the

* Moreau de St. Mery. Malo.

colonists took heart from their despair, and the enemy for that time dared not to attempt a landing.

Scarcely had the urgency of this danger passed over when the governor was assailed by a new difficulty. The buccaneer part of the population, incensed at certain acts of firmness on his part, and too much accustomed to being a law unto themselves, set the constituted authorities at open defiance, and in flagrant disobedience of the orders of the governor, put to sea with five or six of their corsairs. Many of the young men of the colony had been seduced to accompany them, panting high for the romance of their new employment. The weakened and torn state of the colony forbade the employment of force to bring back these wayward citizens to their allegiance and industry, and the governor was compelled to have recourse to negotiation. By the most cautious management, and a display of the utmost prudence and address, he succeeded at last in winning them back to their duty.

The league of Augsburg in 1637 had created a new power in the West Indies, whose hostilities were even more formidable to the French colonists of St. Domingo than those of their old enemies, the Spaniards. This new power was England, which now in alliance with Spain threatened St. Domingo with an invasion from the allied fleet that was already hovering along its coasts. Scarcely a despatch could sail from the ports of the colony without an interception, which informed the enemy of every new movement of things among its population. M. Ducasse was held in a state of complete insulation from all assistance from France, and his prospects were gloomy and forbidding in the extreme, when a gleam of hope shot over his desolation like a sunbeam in a tempest. The archbishop of Santo Domingo fell into his power, and the governor seized the papers which contained the correspondence of the archbishop with the Spanish Council of the Indies. These contained expressions of fear that the French might attempt the conquest of the whole island to their power,—in event of which the writer disclosed the utter inability of the Spanish forces then in the island to its defence. These papers were despatched to the French ministry, and to defend his colony from attack by carrying the war into the enemy's country, M.

Ducasse began in haste to make preparations for a descent on the island of Jamaica. Every exertion was put forth to make the armament sufficiently formidable, and ensure its final success. Volunteers were invited from all parts of the colony to join the standard of the governor, and every small vessel and shallop was put in repair to convey the troops. At last, all things being in readiness, the governor sailed from Petit Goave on the 11th of June, 1694, with his whole force, amounting to twenty-one sail of vessels and fifteen hundred men. After a long and sluggish voyage, the French at length came to anchor in a small bay about fifteen miles distant from Port Royal. They immediately landed and advanced across the country, destroying the plantations, seizing the negroes, and driving the English before them, till they arrived at Morant Bay. An attack was immediately made upon the forts that protected this harbor, which were soon carried, and the town taken and given up to pillage. More than fifteen hundred negroes were taken from the town and its neighborhood and sent back to Petit Goave. A detachment of the fleet, under M. Beauregard, was ordered to proceed with two hundred men to Port Maria. From this place they proceeded to devastate an extent of country of twenty or thirty miles in circuit, after which the detachment returned to Morant Bay. The whole French fleet now sailed for Carlisle Bay, and here they found an English vessel, which they immediately attacked and burnt. The governor ordered M. De Graeffe to land the next morning at the head of a thousand men, and commence an attack on the fortifications of the town. These were mounted with twelve cannon, and manned by a garrison of fourteen hundred men. The French under De Graeffe made a furious onset, and were as hotly received by the English within the trenches; but the former were at length successful. After a sharp and bloody contest of an hour and a half, the French forced the outer line of defence, and the English retired, leaving three hundred and sixty of their number killed and wounded within the lines. The losses of the French were small, and De Graeffe pushed on to encounter a detachment of two hundred English who were hastening to the assistance of their countrymen. These also were

driven before the victorious French, who were left in undisputed occupation of the country. The following day was spent in ravaging the ports in the neighborhood; the fleet was drawn nearer the shore, and M. Ducasse landed, and sent forth fresh detachments to destroy and lay waste in every direction. Grand mass was celebrated within the fortifications of the vanquished town by the curate of Petit Goave—father Gery. The town of Carlisle was the last destroyed in this wantonness of devastation, and the cannon of its forts spiked.*

Having finished the objects of the expedition, and created much unprovoked and unnecessary misery in this beautiful settlement, the French put to sea again, and arrived safely at Petit Goave freighted deep with the spoils of their victory—of which no inconsiderable part was the number of three thousand negroes taken from the English plantations, together with great quantities of indigo and other valuable productions of the island. The increasing business of planting cane and fabricating sugar made this importation of slaves a valuable acquisition to St. Domingo; and the wealth gained by the late expedition gave an immediate impulse to the affairs of the colony—an impulse which was continued by the encouragement given to agricultural enterprise through the enlightened policy of M. Ducasse's administration.

But prosperity which is based on the sword of conquest must, in the revengeful nature of human feelings, be maintained or lost by the same means. The English, as was to be expected, prepared to take ample vengeance on the French for the invasion and destruction of their finest colony, and M. Ducasse was not slow in learning that preparations of the most formidable kind were in progress against him, sufficient to annihilate his little colony at one fell swoop. Nor was the French governor idle in the appalling crisis that threatened. He flew from point to point of his colony, to rally, encourage and fortify. In this fearful conjuncture nothing was left by him undone to perfect all his means of defence. The first attack on the colony was made by the English from Jamaica, and directed on the town of Leogane. With a flotilla of three vessels and three bateaux they came to anchor off

the town, and commenced a cannonade which lasted till night: but the bravery of the defence was sufficient to discourage from a renewal of the attack, and after burning a French vessel in that harbor the English weighed anchor and returned without the accomplishment of their purpose. This petty failure was not sufficient to divert the storm of war and desolation that was gathering over the French colony. A formidable armament of the allied English and Spaniards at length made its appearance in Mansanilla bay during the summer of 1695. This point of attack was well chosen by the enemy, for the hostilities of former years and the disastrous campaign of Limonade had nearly annihilated the resources of the North, and torn from it almost all its means of defence. Limonade had been rebuilt and resettled, but did little more than totter on in a state of utter decrepitude and decay. The allies to the number of three thousand strong arrived at the latter place on the 27th of May, and thence advanced rapidly on Cape François in two columns, driving the French before them. While the English fleet was sailing into the harbor, the French saw on the other side the united forces of English and Spaniards advancing to the attack on their works by land. The outposts, after blowing up these works one after another as they were reached by the enemy, retired into the town. At this stage of the attack six hundred marines and sailors were landed from the vessels, and commenced their march to attack a post beyond the town, at a place called Haut du Cap. The approach of a detachment of Spaniards from the opposite quarter placed the garrison of that post in the cross fire of the enemy, and M. De Graeffe, who commanded at the Haut du Cap, saw himself obliged to fall back on the parishes of Morne Rouge and Acul. The allies were thus in possession of the cape almost without striking a blow, and now directed their detachments on the road to Port de Paix, the capital of the colony—the English proceeding by way of Acul and Limbè and the Spaniards by Plaisance and Gros Morne, the fleet in the mean time accompanying them along the coast. The latter penetrated into the harbor of St. Louis. and hazarded its reefs to land five hundred men to attack that settlement. M. Bernanos, who held that place

for the French, was obliged to fall back before this force, and took up a position on a small river in his rear. Here he defended himself successfully, and a party of the enemy which attempted to cut off his retreat into the interior, was held in check by a charge made by a detachment of French and negroes under M. Paty. On the 18th of June the Spaniards had arrived within sight of Port de Paix, but were held in check by a small detachment of French posted at a place called Trois Rivières. Meantime M. Boulayé, whom M. Ducasse (who had retired to Leogane) had left in command of Port de Paix, ordered the evacuation of all the posts in the vicinity, and on the same day the town itself was set on fire by his orders. The forces of the French were all concentrated on a projection of the harbor called the Point des Peres; but on the 30th June the enemies' fleet entered the harbor of Port de Paix; the Point des Peres was stormed and carried, and the French were driven to take refuge within their entrenchments in the town. On the 3d of July the Spanish forces came up to join their allies, and they opened their batteries from the Point des Peres and the surrounding heights upon the French, who still gallantly though hopelessly maintained a resistance. The following night they began to make preparations to evacuate the ruins of the town; but the enemy gaining intelligence of the movement were ready to fall upon their retreat with a force sufficient to crush this feeble remnant at one blow; but one Archambaud directed the French to a ford in the Trois Rivières, which still retains his name, where they crossed, and soon gained the mountains in safety.

The entire northern coast of the island was now in possession of the enemy, and with it a host of prisoners and immense spoils in negroes, and productions of the island. From the insufficiency in the defence in this the oldest and best port of the colony, one is astonished that the allies stopped here, without proceeding to the conquest of what remained. The governor had retired to Leogane at an early period of the invasion, where he had been engaged in making the most formidable preparations to repel any attack in that quarter; but the enemy penetrated no farther. Wearied by long and painful marches under a burning sun, and satisfied with success,

and the English probably deeming they had sufficiently avenged the inroad into their colony the preceding year, they collected their forces; and having destroyed, according to the fashion of the time, every thing in their line of march, they left the colony.

This invasion left the whole coast swept with desolation. The petty attacks of the Spaniards in their yearly incursions upon the French territory, were but trifles light as air to the wide sweep of destruction brought on by this terrible inroad. Of the stores of agricultural produce, the crops in growth, the plantations, towns, settlements and negroes, nothing or nearly nothing, was left. All was one wild waste of ruin—one unmixed scene of wretchedness. The inhabitants were left no shelter from the storms of heaven, and no provisions to sustain their decayed energies. Misfortune often succeeds misfortune, and events of a modified good are not always sources of joy. To add to the miseries of the colony there arrived orders from the government at home to receive a portion of the inhabitants of St. Croix—an island which had been wrested from the power of France, and to incorporate them with the population of St. Domingo. In other circumstances an event like this, which adding to its effectiveness and population, would have likewise added joy, and proved an impulse of prosperity to the colony. But at this epoch, when all its resources and means of subsistence had been destroyed, and the emigrant people were refugees from their homes and possessions, instead of comfort and gratulation the order for their consolidation with the colony of St. Domingo brought with it only additional causes of distress, and induced the dreariest anticipations for the future. From a condition of peaceful security, and the silent lapse of years spent in gathering in a rich harvest from the soil, and following a career of soft enjoyment sustained by increasing wealth in a joyous climate, the colonists of St. Domingo were now thrown by the miseries of war, of which they had been the victims, into a course of unsettled employment in which war alone constituted their chief hope of gain.

The hostilities of the rival nations still continued, and an expedition was set on foot directed against the city of

Carthagena on the Spanish Main. This was regarded as one of the richest and most powerful cities in the new world, and every needy and desperate adventurer looked upon its hordes of wealth with the longing eye of poverty, and upon the owners of this wealth with all the bitter recollections connected with the Spanish name. The sanction of the French government was obtained, which authorized certain private adventurers to fit out seven vessels of the line, with others of a smaller size, to proceed against the city of Carthagena, under the orders of commodore Pointis. Great numbers of the colonists of St. Domingo flocked to embark in the expedition, and were headed by their governor, M. Ducasse. The latter never was well reconciled to act as the subordinate of De Pointis. The expedition was completely successful, and the Spaniards of Carthagena purchased on hard conditions of their captors that their town should be spared from plunder. The adventurers from St. Domingo were dissatisfied that their share of the spoils of the ransomed town did not exceed forty thousand crowns, when M. Ducasse, with true mercantile sagacity, maintained that the whole amount of plunder drawn from the Spanish city ought to exceed forty millions of pounds, of which one fourth was the stipulated share due to those who were from St. Domingo. Indignant at the real or imagined dishonesty of De Pointis, the unceremonious buccaneers made ready to board the commodore's ship, the Sceptre, and to avenge themselves for the iniquitous affront by his death; when one of their number cried out to his companions, "why do we waste our time on that execrable dog, while our portion of the wealth of the city still remains in Carthagena, and it is there we must seek it." This suggestion was hailed with a burst of applause, and without a moment of further reflection, they turned their course back to the town. Here they assembled all the male inhabitants in the principal church, and addressing them in a conciliatory speech, while they loaded De Pointis with every debasing epithet in their vocabulary, they demanded as a small indemnity for leaving the city untouched, the sum of five millions of pounds. The Spaniards could not raise this sum to oblige their modest and gentle conquerors, and were in consequence subjected

to the penalty of their displeasure. The buccaneers gave themselves up to every excess of cruelty and extortion till they had gleaned every remnant of wealth that remained to the fallen city, when they set sail for their homes. They were not suffered, however, to gain them in safety. They were encountered and attacked by some Dutch and English ships, and many of their smaller vessels were captured or sunk. Those that escaped arrived safely at St. Domingo.

During the absence of the governor the command of the colony had been in the hands of the count de Boissy, who had governed with zeal and much ability. He visited in person the principal towns, and put every thing in the best condition of defence that circumstances rendered possible. This officer came to his end by a disaster that was afflictive. Not having met with M. Ducasse since his return to the colony, he embarked at Cape François, with the design to go to Petit Goave. Just without the harbor he came in sight of six ships. Believing them to be enemies, he leaped into a boat, attended only by three negroes and a soldier. The boat was not more than a league and a half from the shore, yet it could not reach it, but was drawn by the current into the open sea. After beating about for nine days without encountering any land, they were cast on the coast of Cuba, near Baracoa, and after wandering about in quest of food for five days, the whole boat's crew perished of famine.*

The contest still continued between the rival nations, but while both still maintained a hostile attitude, their exertions in war had been lately confined to the neighboring seas, rather than within the limits of their respective territories in St. Domingo. But though the war had dwindled to petty skirmishes, there was no abatement of the fell and deadly hatred which still continued to animate the spirit of hostility between the rival countrymen. The river Massacre, that separates the plain of Cape François from the Spanish territory, derives its name from the multitude of fierce and murderous conflicts that were fought on its banks, in which the belligerents fought for the possession of their homes on the one hand, and to repel encroachment on the other. Scarcely a spot can be

* Malo.

pointed out on the confines of the territory of the two nations but has its tradition of blood and massacre, and frequently its name from some deadly strife of the olden time. The inviting solitudes of every sweeping savanna and rich primeval forest in the interior of the island, and the calm, glasslike surface of every inlet that indents the coast, witnessed the struggles of fierceness and hate between the desperadoes of that period. When the French territory had grown too populous with colonists, and too extended in its limits to leave a hope to the Spaniards to eject them from the scene of their increasing greatness, the inveteracy of the latter was still manifested by continual inroads to harass the settlements, and without the power to subdue, they directed their efforts to distress their neighbors.

Their attacks were so frequent and so destructive on the southern coast of the French territory, that M. Ducasse wrote to the ministry that if aid was not promptly afforded them, it would become necessary to abandon that rich portion of the territory, in spite of all exertions to the contrary.

The Spanish galleys in the boldness of their attacks even entered the harbor of Cape François, and cut out vessels that were awaiting their cargoes in that port. A large French merchantman from Harfleur was at anchor in the harbor of the Cape, when it was furiously attacked by a Spanish periagua, and had it not been for the efficacy of the captain's orthodoxy it had been forever lost to the owners. In the heat of the attack he made a vow to the Virgin, to be paid off in the church of Harfleur in Normandy, and thus by this lucky thought the Spaniards were foiled of their prey.

The French colonists, amid such a long succession of hostilities, and the devastation or decay of their plantations, many of them grew despondent for the future, and prepared to abandon the island forever. The Spaniards of Santiago were already fitting out another expedition against the settlements of Cape François, when the news of the peace of Ryswick arrived to put an end to the war. By an article in this treaty Spain acknowledged for the first time the rights of France to the western part of St. Domingo, that lay beyond certain boundaries.

CHAPTER III.

Company of St. Domingo—progress of the French colony—riot against the West India Company—Administration of M. Larnage—settlement of Port au Prince—conquest of St. Louis by the English—Colonial judiciary—power of the governor general—origin and condition of the free colored population—petits blancs—M. de Belzunce—Count d'Estaing—Acadian and German emigrants—M. d'Ennery—the negro Macandal—Maroons of Bahoruco—magnificence of the colony—popular tumults.

WHEN the long succession of hostilities, for so many years the bane of the colony's prosperity, had at last terminated, the inhabitants of St. Domingo took immediate encouragement to resume the arts of peace. That part of the southern coast, which by the terms of the late treaty had been included within the limits of the French territory, had hitherto been a sort of debateable land, claimed by both nations, but untenanted and in fact unknown to either. A few years before the period of which we treat, M. Ducasse had sent home a glowing description of the singular beauty of the plain of Aux Cayes, which was then a wilderness, spreading in solitude its wide waste of luxuriance; and the governor strongly recommended the immediate occupation of that region by an emigrant population from France. The disturbed condition of France at that period depressed all enterprise directed towards the furtherance of these plans of the governor; but now when commerce and the spirit of foreign adventure had received a new impulse from the restoration of peace to Europe, measures were adopted to make this part of the island available to the increase of the colony of St. Domingo, and to the commercial interests of France. For the purpose of occupying this new territory, a commercial company was formed at Paris, under the name of the Royal Company of St. Domingo. Its rights and privileges were distinct from those of the French West India Company, the business of which had been confined exclusively to the northern part of the French colony. The Royal Company of St. Domingo was originally composed of but twelve persons, in whose number was M. Ducasse, the governor. They associated

themselves with a capital of 1,200,000 livres, and obtained letters patent conveying to them the exclusive right of commerce for a period of fifty years, over an extent of country that reached from Cape Tiburon to the river Neybé on the Spanish frontiers, and which was to be of three leagues in width from the sea to the mountains of La Hotte. This was conveyed in fee simple, and with the right of entire sovereignty, without either rent or service than free homage to the king of France and the bestowment of a crown of gold, of six marks in value, on each occupant of the throne at the commencement of a new reign. The government of France engaged to construct, at its own expense, such suitable fortifications as would protect this part of the colony from hostile invasion. The Company promised to introduce during the term of its charter, fifteen hundred whites and twenty-five hundred slaves within the territory of its jurisdiction, without taking them from the other parts of the colony. After the expiration of the Company's charter, it was stipulated that two hundred negroes should be introduced annually within the limits of that portion of the colony. The courts of justice and the internal police generally, were to be formed on the model of those institutions in France. To the Company was granted the liberty of having a seal of its own, and the privilege of carrying on a contraband trade with the Spanish possessions in the gulf of Mexico. In the year 1699, the royal decrees which guarantied the rights and privileges of the Company were registered by the supreme court of Petit Goave, and M. Bricourt, who had been appointed by the Company its agent and director in St. Domingo, entered on the duties of his office. M. Bricourt selected for the chief place of the settlement a site on the shores of a fine harbor upon the southern coast, and he named the future town St. Louis. M. Beauregard had been sent the year before, with forty-five persons, to commence an establishment at this place, under the auspices of the colonial government, but they were now obliged to abandon the settlement which they had begun, to give place to those to whom the territory had been granted by charter. M. Renau, a distinguished officer of engineers, was sent from France, to superintend the construction of fortifica-

tions to protect the harbor of St. Louis. The skill and expense bestowed in their erection were sure guarantees of their future adaptedness to all ordinary purposes of defence, and in five years they were finished and pronounced the best in the colony.

But the final success of this magnificent plan of colonizing, bore little proportion to the extendedness of its original outline. The Company for a long time manifested little ambition more than to watch over the exclusiveness, and to preserve the integrity of its barren monopoly; and its agents, instead of directing all their exertions to the present prosperity and eventual success of the colony under their charge, limited all their efforts to the selfishness of urging forward their own individual interests. When five years had elapsed from the epoch of the Company's formation, so little vigor had been infused into the spirit of its operations that a population of but forty-two whites and six hundred slaves had been gathered to occupy the wide extent of its territory. So far were the agents from creating facilities and means of encouragement to all those who desired to become colonists under the auspices of the new company, that by a refinement in bad policy they reserved from occupation the whole of the rich plain around the chief town of St. Louis; and those who had become occupants of the lands within the territory were defrauded of their just gains, or at the best subjected to vexations and inconvenience, by being compelled to receive payment for the productions of their labor in bills of exchange drawn on the treasurer of the Company at Paris. It was impolitic to establish a separation of interests between this part of the colony and that on the northern coast. From this source of evil there soon arose the bickerings and jealousies of sectional prejudice to poison the tranquillity of the whole colony. Notwithstanding the faulty management of the rulers and agents who held its control, the high attractiveness of this rich territory soon gathered to its occupation a large and increasing population of colonists. When their numbers had attained the amount of six hundred whites and two thousand negroes, these southern colonists, in the pride and exclusiveness of their ambition, prayed the government at home for the establishment

of a judiciary of their own, and the presumption of the agents of the new colony maintained a perpetual strife between themselves and the colonial government at Petit Goave. The regulations established by the Royal Company of St. Domingo for the rule and guidance of its colony, were in the main judicious, but not sufficiently extended and prospective in their scope. The colonists were required to prove their title to the lands they occupied before the town clerk of St. Louis, and they were forbidden to sell them till at least two thirds of their extent were cleared and in a state of cultivation. The larger plantations were each reduced in size to contain but one hundred carreaux, (about three hundred acres.) Every proprietor was required to pay to the agents of the Company, on St. Martin's day, the very reasonable tax of sixpence for every hundred carreaux of the land he occupied, and where the boundary line was irregular this tax was doubled, and amounted to one shilling. The width of the great roads was fixed at sixty feet, and that of the cross roads at half that admeasurement. Every one was required to reserve upon his plantation one carreau of woodland, and of Brazil wood, of fustic, of cocoa, of cotton, and of guiac, one hundred trees of each. Of other wood more suited to purposes of building, a similar number of trees was likewise ordered to be preserved, as marble-wood, iron-wood, oak, cedar, and mahogany. Each colonist was ordered to support upon his land, for every one hundred carreaux, twenty cows and fifty sheep, a white man for every ten negroes, and to make at least ten quintals of tobacco every year.

One cannot but be struck with the fact that these regulations were better adapted to rule a pastoral nation in the south of Europe, than to guide the fortunes of a colony of slaveholders within the exuberant regions of the tropics. Much discontent soon came to be enkindled against the Royal Company of St. Domingo, from its soliciting and being put in the enjoyment of a privilege which more than any thing else called its patriotism in question. This was a treaty called an *assiento*, which was made with the king of Spain, by which a right was secured to the Company of importing negroes from the coast of Guinea into the Spanish colony of Hispaniola or

St. Domingo. The French colonists of the north looked with unmeasured indignation on the selfishness of a mercantile company which held large possessions in the island, and yet employed itself in ministering to the growth of a rival nation on their borders, the relentless hatred of which had ever been involving the French colony in the evils of war. The unpopularity of the Company of St. Domingo at length extended itself to France and gained the ear of the ministry. A decree of the council of state was issued, declaring "that in consequence of the pressing wants of the colonists of St. Louis on the coast of St. Domingo, and the little care taken by the Company of the same name to remedy these wants, which produced frequent contentions between the agents and the subjects of the Company: and as it was not just that those inhabitants should suffer from such palpable misrule, permission was granted to all subjects of France to trade at the port of St. Louis for six months." This was a blow to the Company's monopoly from which it never recovered. A succession of edicts continued to curtail its privileges till they were hardly worth preserving, and in the year 1720 the Company ceded back to the king all the rights and privileges of its charter.

During the twenty years of this Company's existence, the southern coast of the island had become settled along much of its extent, and among its industrious and thrifty population there were numbered many of the adventurers who returned from the expedition to Carthage. With the negroes they had captured in that enterprise, and their share of the spoils of the captured city obtained in so ambiguous a manner, they settled down in the flowering bottoms of the plain of Aux Cayes, and became peaceful agriculturists.

By the alienation of the charter of the Company of St. Domingo, the whole territory of the French part of the island reverted to the authority of the colonial governor. M. Ducasse had been appointed to the command of the French naval forces in the West Indies in the year 1703, and had been succeeded in the government of the colony by M. Auger, who had distinguished himself during the late war, by his brilliant defence of Guadaloupe. The colony of St. Domingo had now grown to a degree

of wealth and importance that plainly betokened how magnificent were to be its future fortunes. The administration of M. Auger was the first in which the authority and responsibility of the colonial government were shared between the chief of the colony and another functionary associated with him in power, and called the intendant of the colony. The appointment of this officer was in accordance with an established custom in the French colonies, and it was employed as a means of balance in the powers of the colonial executive; and while it outwardly professed to separate the military from the civil authority, it established a check upon the ambition of both. The French colonial system has always been faulty, and at this epoch was peculiarly so in relation to St. Domingo. The centralization of all power in Paris, and the attempt to rule a new and peculiar people, who were inhabitants of a country within the tropics and in another hemisphere, by laws adapted only to govern the maritime towns of France, was productive of unbounded mischief to the colony. The vexatious enactments to regulate by law the cultivation and exportation of tobacco in St. Domingo, operated to depress and destroy almost all culture and trade in that article, and the planters in despair of any enlightened policy in regard to their peculiar business ceased from any further efforts to burst the shackles that bound them to perpetual and unproductive toil. Others by happier fortune betook themselves to another species of agriculture, which was destined in the end to open a deep and wide source of wealth to the colony. The sugar-cane was introduced, and in places where from the ready access of water to irrigate the plantations, it was placed beyond the contingencies of those seasons of drought which so often afflicted the colony, the profits which arose from its cultivation raised the planter to almost immediate opulence. But as more extensive tracts of soil were reclaimed from the wilderness and devoted to this new species of agriculture, in consequence of the augmented labor necessary to cultivate the cane and manufacture it to a form of exportation, a new difficulty arose from the scarcity of slaves. The Guinea traders were still monopolists, and the price for their cargoes was exorbitant beyond the ability of the colonists to pay. To

remove this drawback on the prosperity of the colony, many Indians were drawn from Louisiana, South Carolina and the Canadas, to be employed as slaves on the sugar plantations. At different times and through different means more than a thousand Indians were imported and sold in the various ports of the colony. But they were always much less valuable than the negroes, and from the surly, indolent habits of the North American savage, and his frequent acts of daring insubordination, they soon came into bad estimation as property, and all farther trade in them fell into desuetude. From intermixture with the blacks the distinctive characteristics of their race are now entirely lost, though some of the mixed bloods of Hayti still trace their origin to an Indian in preference to an African ancestry.

The plantations of cocoa-trees, a fruit introduced into the country by Ogeron, had now become the source of a considerable yearly income to the colonists in many parts of the island. That tree seemed to find its natural soil in the rich alluvions along the coast, and amid the mountains of the interior grew to a magnificent height. It was common at this epoch to find twenty thousand of them growing upon one plantation. But as if to drive the colonists to the cultivation of the sugar-cane by the destruction of all other means in which they had placed their hopes of wealth, during a severe drought which occurred in the year 1715, almost all the cocoa-trees in the island perished by one dread calamity. To the impoverishing effects of this affliction, arising from the unpropitiousness of the seasons, there was soon after added another and a severer one, which sprang from the vicissitudes of trade. Great numbers of proprietors within the colony by years of toil and enterprise had reaped a rich reward from that virgin soil, and furnished with the means of easier life, they now prepared themselves to retire to France and spend the remainder of their lives in dignified and opulent leisure. But the payment for their remittances of colonial produce had, in a moment of too unbounded confidence, been taken in the bills and securities of the Mississippi Company, a bubble that was soon to burst, but not harmlessly. These bills having lost all value by the total bankruptcy of the scheme that

upheld them, the unfortunate holders saw all the avails of their labors and personal deprivations scattered to the winds of heaven, and reduced in one moment from opulence to the utmost destitution and distress, they were forced to solicit employment of those whose services they had commanded in the zenith of their more prosperous fortunes.

From this misfortune the colonists learned to hate all mercantile companies, and the West India Company by its extortions had earned the hatred with which it was now visited. This Company by the rapacity of its operations had verified the proverb "that he who hasteth to be rich cannot be innocent." Many of the obnoxious privileges for the possession and exercise of which the Company of St. Louis had been detested, were now by exclusive right the property of the West India Company. It held the monopoly of making all importations of slaves within the ports of the colony, and through this means maintained the price of negroes far beyond any reasonable valuation. Nor did the privileges of the Company stop here. To it belonged the exclusive right of all traffic between the mother country and the ports of the colony, and the benefits which would have flowed from a free competition in trade were all sunk in the wide abyss of a vast and rapacious monopoly. The injured colonists had long complained of the injustice as well as impolicy of allowing the existence of such odious privileges, and they now manifested their hatred of this chartered system of oppression by a thousand acts of petty violence. The whole colony as one man burned with eagerness to rid themselves of the monied source of the multitudinous extortions that were busy in consuming their wealth, and the arrival of the agents of the Company at Cape François in the year 1722 became the signal for a general out-breaking of popular fury, that spent itself in scenes of violence and tumult. The factories and magazines of the Company situated in a quarter called Guinea were set on fire and burnt to the ground amidst cries of "vive le roi" and "à bas la Compagnie." An immense mob was soon congregated, which gaining fresh fury from every new outrage, rushed forward to the plantation of M. Baudin, one of the Company's agents. The plantation-house

and magazines were immediately set on fire, and were soon wrapt in conflagration. After this act of vengeance the conspirators crossed over to Petit Anse, where there was another storehouse of the Company, which was likewise burnt to the ground. During this season of effervescence some slave vessels arrived off the harbor from Africa, but they were refused an entrance to the town of the Cape, and forbidden to sell their cargoes in any other port of the colony. The governor, in attempting to put down this alarming revolt, was himself taken prisoner and kept in close confinement. In this state of things the political structure of the colony seemed on the eve of entire dissolution. The spirit of insurrection spread like electricity, and the insurgents were soon in possession of all power in the colony. Such was the earnestness and determination of the colonists in the matter which they had taken it upon themselves to bring to a crisis, that the government at home was forced by necessity to yield to their desires. Negotiations were set on foot for a reconciliation between the parties in this bitter strife. Many of the most obnoxious privileges of the West India Company were immediately abolished: but the difficulties of the time were not to be overcome by any half measures. The colonists had felt their strength and would no longer yield passively to acts of government which they deemed obstacles in the way of their success, or downright encroachments on their natural rights. A multitudinous succession of conferences and new demands, of concessions and renewed petitions followed, and two years had elapsed in tumult and disorder, before tranquillity was again restored to the island.

The administration of M. Larnage, which commenced in 1737, has been called the second age of the colony, as that of Ogeron was the first. A formidable obstacle to success in the cultivation of the sugar cane arose from the long and destructive droughts, which in the pulverulent soil of the plains parched and withered the green herbage, and annihilated the hopes of the planter by the entire destruction of his fields of cane, as by a devouring conflagration. The great length of time requisite for bringing the cane to maturity was almost sure to bring it at some stage of its growth within the blighting influ-

ence of these seasons of dryness. No soils but those situated on the very banks of a perpetual stream of water, or subjected to the ooziings of subterranean springs, could with the least hope of success be devoted to the cultivation of the sugar cane. These difficulties had ever constituted serious obstructions to the growth of the colony in the business of sugar-planting. To M. Larnage the colonists were indebted for the happy idea of irrigating their plantations by means of canals, to conduct water through their grounds from the bed of the nearest river. The immense benefits of this fortunate plan soon made themselves obvious. A sufficiency and perpetual supply of water was insured to every part of the largest plantation, and the remotest cane patch was furnished with means to render its growth independent of the seasons. From this epoch the onward march of the colony to the extreme of opulence and luxury was made with the strides of a giant. The stream of prosperity flowed deep, smooth and unencumbered. The superb plain of Arcahaie, deep in the Bight of Leogane, and checkered by the windings of nine fresh water rivers, which till now had served but to variegate and adorn an untenanted wilderness, rich however in the adornments of native beauty, now became studded with plantations, and every corner of its teeming soil waved with fields of cane. Immense fortunes were now gathered in a few years, and a tide of emigration and capital flowed from all quarters to add to the swelling fortunes of the colony.

The applauses of his contemporaries, and the gratitude of their successors, continued to bless the name of the fortunate originator of this prosperity. Charles Brunier Marquis de Larnage, was of a noble family of Dauphiny. He had been bred to arms, and had already served in various capacities in the armies of France, when he came to the West Indies in the train of the governor of Martinique in the year 1711. Here and at Guadaloupe he continued to reside in different employments until his appointment to the government of the colony of St. Domingo, in which he remained till the time of his death. His plan of internal policy, whether discovered by a happy blunder, or the result of a deep sagacity and tiresome investigation, it matters not, brought benefits to the colony

under his rule which were vast and immediate. The plain of Cape François, the banks of the river Artibonite, the Cul de Sac, and the rich lands of the south, felt the fostering influence of the new system in the avails of their agriculture.

Roads and great thoroughfares of communication were opened to unite the distant portions of the colony. Bridges, till now unknown in the colony, were thrown across the larger rivers, and in fact the administration of Larnage was one unbroken series of official acts tending to establish a policy the most advantageous to the colony's prosperity. The plan of a uniform system of fortification was the next to engage his care, and nearly all the more exposed points of his part of the island were mounted with cannon. Even the distant quarter of Cape Tiburon felt the auspicious influences spread abroad by this able and beneficent administrator; and a road was cut with vast labor through the immense mountain masses between Jeremie on the north and Aux Cayes on the south. The governor was ably seconded in bringing about all these achievements of a generous enterprise by the intendent of the colony, M. Maillart—who by right of his office had also in charge the fiscal operations of the colony. These, which had been left in great disorder by his predecessor, were restored to soundness by the energy and foresight of the present incumbent, who seemed as much adapted to the existing condition of the island as his great associate in office, M. Larnage. The quiet blessings of thousands who are quick to appreciate the benign agency of a pervading and extensive benevolence, do not perhaps equal the plaudits of insane joy that follow the triumphs of a blustering hero: but human gratitude will at length survive the mere excitements of animal nature, and the tribute which is their due be paid voluntarily to the real benefactors of the human race. "The wisdom," says the Prince de Rohan in an ordonnance dated many years after the death of the object of his eulogy, "with which M. Larnage governed the colony, should be the guide to all his successors who would render it happy and flourishing. His was an administration supported on the basis of talent and experience, which has left to those who come after him little to do but imitate his example."

Hitherto there had existed no permanent seat of government in the colony. Since the old capital town of Port de Paix had fallen into decay the governors of the colony had held their residence sometimes at Cape François and sometimes at Petit Goave and Leogane. Indeed, for a short time during the existence of the troubles consequent upon having two colonies within the French territory, the governor had assumed the title of governor of Cape François. Now, in the high and palmy state of the colony, when its whole extent had become filled with the plantations of a busy and thriving population, and its political importance had so increased as to make it an object of anxious hope to the mother country, it was contemplated to select a central spot whereon to build up a future capital. The situation of Port au Prince had been suggested as the proper one. A small settlement had remained there from the earliest times of the colony. Its harbor had been surveyed during the year 1725, and a plan of it sent to the government at Paris. M. Champmeslin, then agent for the colony, proposed that a city should be built on the point now called Belair. The French ministry neglected a decision of the matter, and while for many years repeated accounts of its superior advantages continued to follow each other to the minister of marine, the small settlement was slowly increasing in numbers. M. Meynier was sent out in 1740 to look into the adaptedness of this place as a site for the contemplated capital. This engineer reported that the harbor was sufficiently capacious to contain twenty ships of the largest class, and a much greater number of smaller craft—that by the bestowment of a little labor and expense it might be rendered secure from tempests as well as from the attacks of an enemy,—but that as an offset to these advantages, there existed several reefs running off from its shores to render navigation dangerous—that the waters of the harbor abounded with worms to destroy the shipping that remained long at anchor in them—that there was but little fresh water, though it might be easily brought into the town from a spring that was situated, at the distance of three fourths of a mile from the place—that the preceding surveys differed from each other, and their statements were inconsistent with themselves, and he

finally advised that the situation of Petit Goave should be selected for the proposed capital in preference to Port au Prince. Soon after this report, on the occasion of intelligence reaching the colony that hostilities had been again renewed in Europe, M. Lanarge, the governor, issued an order that the vessels then lying in the harbor of Port au Prince should proceed immediately to Petit Goave : and he thus tacitly established a preference for the latter place. The inhabitants of the plain of Port au Prince, now in fear for their exposed situation, as well as anxious to commit the government in their favor by urging its attention towards their settlement as the best site for the future capital, offered to pay a capitation tax on their negroes for the term of four years, to defray the expenses of making fortifications in their harbor, that it might never again be necessary to send vessels to Petit Goave for security. This offer was accepted, and a battery mounted with fourteen cannon was erected at the entrance of the harbor. M. Larnage was strongly in favor of making choice of Port au Prince as the residence of the government of the colony, and with his usual industry he continued to advise the ministry to turn their attention to that place as the site of the future capital, and to erect the surrounding plantations into a parish immediately. He was at last successful, and orders arrived to the colonial government to commence immediately the building of the public edifices of the embryo city, which ever after became the residence of the governor-general of the colony. Sustained by the eclat of this circumstance, the insignificant settlement assumed rapidly the appearance of a town, and a quick augmentation in its trade and population followed in succession. The plantations and estates in the environs increased greatly in their value, as in the quality and extent of their cultivation, and Port au Prince, under the direct influence of a power that was all but absolute, soon grew to be the Paris of St. Domingo.

But the town during the different periods of the ancient regime never equalled in point of commercial consequence that of Cape François. In those times of almost continual war, the situation of the former, deep in an extensive bay of smooth water, only to be traversed by the most sluggish advances, was such as to deprive it of the advan-

tage of having its merchantmen protected by the convoys that kept up a continual and open communication with Cape François, and this very situation was more favorable than otherwise to the calculated movements of an attack from an enemy's squadron. This fact was exemplified in the war of 1756, when the enemies of France maintained a large maritime force in the West Indies, and there was a continual succession of naval battles, or of depredations on commerce in those seas. At this period the price of sugar at Port au Prince did not equal by a difference of one third the price of the same article as established at Cape François, while flour and wine, for which the colonists were indebted to the commerce of their parent or some foreign state, were sold at Port au Prince at a price far beyond that which prevailed in the other towns of the colony. M. de Estaing, in an ordonnance dated in 1764, speaks of the capital of the colony "as being built on the extremity of a point of land that projects into the sea, with some few compact and busy streets, but that its very centre was destitute of buildings and its suburbs were a wilderness. The plan," he adds, "was originally too extended, and the town was built with too little regard to any regular arrangement." The town was considered by others as too much exposed, from the nature of its situation, to hostile attacks by sea. It was thought the situation of the little island of Gonave, placed at the entrance of the harbor, favored the approaches of a foreign enemy, so that a large force might be put in a state of close blockade within its harbor by an enemy that was very inferior to it in numbers and effective strength: as without speaking of the impossibility to proceed to sea, unless the land winds blew stronger than the sea breeze, the outward bound fleet might, as it threaded its way out of the harbor, be attacked in detail, while the enemy's force could at the same time remain united. In any event it was thought the enemy's force might have the choice of fighting or not, by interposing the island of Gonave between it and the enemy.*

Hostilities had now again been enkindled in Europe, and the belligerent powers were filling the seas of the West Indies with formidable armaments to make the col-

* Raynal.

onies and commercial ships of either power partners and sufferers in the contest. The rising states of the new world were embroiled in hostility to gratify the vengeance or ambition of Europe. St. Domingo, the predestined victim in every new declaration of war, soon began to suffer the share of misery adjudged as its portion in the strife. An English squadron under the orders of vice-admiral Knowles, and consisting of seven ships of the line, a frigate and three corvettes, came to anchor in the harbor of Cape Tiburon, on the 8th of March, in the year 1748. The object of this movement was an attack on the town of St. Louis, on the southern coast of the island. This place had the reputation of being the most strongly fortified of any in the colony. On the 19th the fleet arrived off the harbor, and began to manœuvre to enter the port in line of battle. The fortifications of St. Louis were mounted with seventy-two cannon, and they were manned by more than three hundred men, and provided with all the munitions of war for six months. A fire was immediately opened upon the advancing squadron by a fort which faced the entrance of the harbor; but it did little execution to prevent the advance of the enemy's fleet. The latter kept on its way, and soon doubled the bastion of St. Eleanore and arrived within range of the guns of Port St. Joseph. Here the English came to anchor, and opened a brisk and well directed fire both on the forts and the town. Two or three merchant ships happening to lie in the track of the fire, one of them was soon enveloped in flames, which were however extinguished by a boarding party from the enemy's fleet, and the merchantmen were taken and moored behind their squadron. The action continued briskly and without interruption for an hour and a half, when all of a sudden the fire of the French began to slacken, and soon ceased altogether. They were summoned by the enemy to capitulate, and the offer was promptly accepted. The articles of capitulation were soon drawn up, and received the ratification of both parties. The French were treated with generosity by their conquerors, and the liberty was granted them of marching out of their fortifications with all the honors of war, in possession of their side arms, and with all their domestic negroes. As to the town

itself, the English admiral deferred until the next day the negotiation for its surrender, which was to be arranged between him and the French governor of the south, who held his residence in the town of St. Louis. By the articles of its capitulation that town was to remain forever after a free port to all English vessels of war, which were to have permission to enter the harbor to refit without hindrance or interruption from the French. For the defence of the town against the attacks of piratical and other hostile forces, the French were permitted to retain two batteries in the harbor, one of which was to be mounted with eight cannon, and the other with twelve. All the other fortifications were to be demolished, and the breaches left open as approaches to the town. By this misfortune the strongest fortifications in the colony, which had cost in their erection more than a million of francs, were lost forever to the French. Open accusations of blame were preferred against its commander, M. Buttet, whose courage was impugned, and, considering the immense capabilities of the place, his professional knowledge strongly doubted. His error seems to have been an over confidence in the strength of his entrenchments, and he was unfortunate in being surrounded by officers in whose fidelity to their duty he ought not to have confided. He considered the town unapproachable by the way in which the English squadron approached it, and by a disastrous fatality his officers deceived him by exaggerated accounts of the effect of the enemy's fire. The English admiral had formerly visited the harbor of St. Louis, while an officer in the fleet under admiral Vernon; and upon the knowledge he had then gained of the harbor he now founded his plan of attack, the success of which had far exceeded his own hopes. Such was the indignation of the French colonists, at what they deemed the inadequate defence of St. Louis, that an order was procured for the assembling of a court martial at Leogane, to mete out justice to the delinquents. After a long investigation of the case, this court sentenced the commander of St. Louis to be deprived of his rank in the army, and his subordinate officers to more or less punishment for unmilitary conduct. The double shame of defeat and subsequent blame proved too much for the veteran Buttet, who had gained laurels in

many a hard fought battle. Age had already whitened his head, and in a short time he buried the wretchedness that had come to embitter his latter days in the oblivion of the grave. A day or two after the surrender of St. Louis, several corps of militia assembled from the neighboring parishes to assist in the defence of that town. Grieved and indignant at the loss of the chief town in that province, they sullenly posted themselves upon the neighboring heights, and refused to depart. But the English, contented with the glory they had already acquired, showed no inclination for farther hostility. If so much blame was attached to the officers in command at St. Louis, some of the humbler belligerents manifested a spirit during the action which has embalmed their names in history. One Gaspard, an old mulatto, who in the midst of the hottest fire had one of his arms shot away, as they were carrying him off cried out to his son, "*Ne bronchez pas, car il me reste encore un bras pour te faire sauter le cou.*"* †

In the course of a few months the peace of Aix la Chapelle put a period to the hostilities of the time, before the English had even taken their departure from the scene of their conquest. St. Louis never recovered from its disaster. It had been the chief naval station of the French on that coast, but it was now dismantled and soon fell into utter insignificance; while the rival town of Aux Cayes rose at once to a degree of populousness and eclat that diverted all attention from the more desolate fortunes of St. Louis, and the former soon came to be ranked as the third town of the colony in wealth and population.

The conqueror of St. Louis, admiral Knowles, was in the end himself overcome and enslaved by a subtler and more obdurate enemy than M. Buttet. The tidings of peace allowed him a relaxation from his sterner duties, which was spent in a reciprocation of the softer courtesies of life among the wealthy planters in the plain of St. Louis. Led by curiosity and pleasure he crossed the country to Leogane, where he became domesticated in the family of a planter by the name of Longpré, and desperately in love with the daughter of his host. All the

* Literally, "Don't trip—for I have one arm yet to make your head fly from your shoulders." † Moreau de St. Mery.

soul of the admiral seems to have been occupied and absorbed by the tyrant passion that ruled his destiny, and now like one of his own monarchs, instead of frightening the souls of fearful adversaries—

“He capered nimbly in a lady’s chamber
To the lascivious pleatings of a lute.”

He made the governor of St. Domingo a confidant of his love, and begged his interposition to secure success to his wishes. But it seems that Mademoiselle Longpré took things much more coolly, for notwithstanding the protestations of her foreign lover she gave her hand a few months after to a planter by the name of Mithon. If the sequel of the tale be true, the colonists of St. Louis were fearfully avenged, for it is asserted that the wound inflicted on the unfortunate Knowles by this disappointment marred the happiness of his life, and changed his love of Mademoiselle Longpré into a sweeping hatred of the race to which she belonged, and that in his eagerness to bring on fresh hostilities between the two nations he did much to hasten the subsequent war of 1756, which is thus deduced from the legitimate “*teterima causa belli.*”

Port au Prince had now become the permanent capital of the colony, and there all the functionaries connected with the administration of its affairs held their residence. The Conseil Supérieur, or supreme judiciary court, was again remodelled, and its sittings were permanently held at Port au Prince for the whole south of the colony, while another tribunal, called the Conseil Supérieur du Cap, had its sessions at Cape François, with a jurisdiction that extended over the north. The organization and powers of these two courts were nearly similar to those of the parliaments of France. Like them, with much parade of legislative as well as judicial power, they were under the arbitrary control of the executive. They were left to amuse themselves with the baubles and trappings of authority, while the chief of the colony was a proconsul, whose power had no check, and who was responsible to none but the minister of the French marine. The Prince de Rohan, while governor of the colony, aggrieved that the Conseil Supérieur of Port au Prince should array itself against his will, entered the hall of its session with a file of soldiers, seized the members on their seats, and

sent them in irons to France, where they were confined in the bastille without a trial. The true authority of these courts was judicial. It was within the scope of their duty to register the decrees of the king and of the governor general of the colony: causes of appeal from the inferior tribunals were tried by them, though one word from the governor general was sufficient to stop all the proceeding. They had the cognizance also of all causes which involved the life of the offender, and appeals were carried thither from the *senechaussées*, or courts of police, which were a species of military tribunal established in every district for the maintenance of order and industry in their jurisdiction. Each *senechaussée* had attached to it a corps of mulatto chasseurs, employed under an executive officer to ferret out and reclaim all runaway slaves, and repress all disturbance and vagrancy.

The march of the colony in its career of prosperity was now uninterruptedly onward. Nearly all its available territory had been appropriated, and flourishing plantations, opulent towns, and a busy and thriving population were spread over almost its whole extent. From being the chieftain of a band of lawless and homeless banditti, the governor of the colony had grown to be an absolute viceroy, whose power in one of earth's fairest heritages was almost that of a monarch. Both the governor general and the intendant of the colony were commissioned by the king, on the recommendation of the minister of marine, and it had grown into a custom to continue the office to the incumbents for the term of three years. The powers of these two functionaries were in some things distinct, in others united. When they were united in opinion as well as in office, their power was without limitation or accountability, extending to every possible question of policy and finance. Laws were enacted by their command, vacancies in councils and courts of justice were filled up by their choice, and crown lands distributed by their bounty. The only security of the people against this vast concentration of power lay in the almost inevitable liability of disunion between the sharers of this exorbitant power. But the authority of the governor was paramount, as he had the supreme command over the military force of the colony. He could imprison without

cause, and almost without accusation, and no arrest could be made but with his approbation. All who were associated with him in the government, were in servile subordination to him, and his will was every where superior to the law. The separate and peculiar duties of the intendant were imminently dangerous to the virtue of that officer. It is scarcely in the power of human nature to resist such temptation; and he who in the control of all the treasures and with the irresponsible exercise of all the fiscal operations of a great and opulent colony, could still resist corruption, was deserving of more than the fame of Aristides. The public income of the colony, sustained by taxes and imposts, was created and regulated by a self-constituted body, composed of the two administrators of the colony, some commanders of militia and presidents of provincial councils, to which was applied the sounding name of Colonial Assembly. In order to facilitate the administration of justice, and for greater convenience in its government, the colony was divided into three provinces, called those of the west, the south, and the north. In each of these resided a lieutenant governor, and there existed tribunals of justice from which an appeal might be carried to the supreme courts at Port au Prince and Cape François. The colony was also made up of fifty-two parishes, each of which furnished one or more companies of white, mulatto, or free black soldiers, to serve as a standing military force in the state, and all the officers in command of this body were commissioned by the governor general.*

The first combinations of color among the population of the colony originated in the peculiar situation of its earliest inhabitants. In the desolateness of their condition, from the absence of all white females, those primitive colonists scrupled not to take to themselves wives from among their female slaves. From this incongruous alliance there arose a new race unknown to nature. These hybrid productions were, however, still slaves, for the customs of that epoch made none free but whites. But the darkness of their tints being somewhat relieved by their relationship to the pure whites, the female mulattoes possessed attractions that gave them immense advan-

* Edwards.

tages over the more uninviting complexion and properties of the true African. From this latter union there arose another race still more nearly allied to the white. By intermarriage with each other these mixed-bloods furnished another cause of their increase in numbers, and at the commencement of the eighteenth century there existed five hundred of them in the colony. In process of time the paternal affection of the whites for their colored offspring gradually introduced the custom of manumitting the mulatto child on his attaining the age of twenty-one years : though this was not uniform, for attachment to interest and property was often superior to feelings of paternity, and the mulatto remained a slave to his own father. The rapid increase of the sang mêlés, or mixed-bloods, had also an inauspicious influence on their personal liberty, for it soon excited jealousy and alarm among the whites, and the code noir of Louis XIV. which had been enacted to protect the slave in his peculiar situation, and to regulate the possession and descent of slave property in the colonies, prohibited the manumission of a slave without an instrument made for that purpose in writing. But the strong operation of instinct in the parent, the sale of slaves to themselves, the marriage of a free mulatto with his own slave, and the natural increase of the free mulattoes themselves, were causes operating so constantly and so irresistibly that the colony became in a few years stocked with a large population of free mulattoes and others of all combinations of color ; and now the custom became steadfast and invariable to manumit every colored infant of a white father. Nor did the care of the father for this species of offspring end here. Most of the mulattoes were taught some handicraft, which amidst the feeble competitions and increasing demands of a new country, was a sure passport to future wealth. As this increased the mulatto became a planter, and was almost proverbial for success in acquiring property. At the epoch of the Revolution almost all the lands of Grand Anse and Jeremie were owned by this class of colonists. The chasseurs or patroles of the marechauseës, or police courts, were usually all mulattoes, both officers and soldiers, and in general every mulatto on his attaining the age of manhood served three years in this body of troops.

They were employed to search for stray negroes, and to maintain a proper subordination among the slave population generally. Endowed with the habits and the peculiar instinct of the black, they were capable of performing with more efficiency and success this kind of duty, and could foil the negro with his own craftiness and with a certainty that was quite beyond the power of the white to attain. 'A' corps of mulattoes had even been made troops of the line, under the name of royal chasseurs, and accompanied Count d'Estaing in the expedition to Savannah during the war of the American Revolution.* After the year 1760 the increase of the free mulattoes was rapid beyond all previous example, both from the causes detailed above, and from others originating in the necessities of the colonial policy. To assist in defraying the immense expenditures which had been made in fortifying and embellishing the towns of the colony, the policy was instituted to enfranchise the mulattoes, in order to gain the profits of their taxation. But the mulattoes though free-men were not citizens—nor did their fairer tinge and relationship to the whites save them from the thralldom of prejudice and contempt, which in all cases and situations attached to them as an inferior and degraded caste. They were rigorously excluded from all communion of social intercourse with the whites. Like the ancient tiers etat of France, they could exercise no public employment, and neither the army, the navy, the law, medicine, or the priesthood, was within the legitimate ambition of a mulatto. Nor was the prejudice of race, as in the English colonies, legally effaced by a remove of three generations from an African ancestor. Like the murder-spots of Macbeth, no time could wipe away the presumed impurity of their skin, the perfumes of Arabia could not sweeten it, and the least trace of African blood tainted the whole character forever. The white who struck a mulatto was punished by a fine, but the mulatto who dared to strike a white was condemned to lose his hand. But an efficacious solace to the irksomeness of their political and social condition, as well as a safeguard to them against the tyranny of custom and the law, was derived from the privilege of the mulatto to amass wealth. Many of them

* Moreau de St. Mery

were immensely rich, and most of them in possession of an easy competency, and such was the influence of money in the colony that many of the highest functionaries in the government had no scruples to be pensioned by them in secret. Thus the mulattoes, founding the security of their rights upon the venality of their superiors, enjoyed by purchase what was not allowed them by the tyranny of custom. But there was another class of whites in the colony whose forbearance was not thus sought, and whose feelings towards the mulattoes were rather those of keen hatred and jealousy than of contempt. This was the lowest class of whites, who were employed in subordinate capacities on the plantations, or were idle and dissolute persons in town. These were known in the colony by the generic term of *petit blancs*, or little whites, a name originally applied to them by the negroes, to express a distinction between them and their masters, the great proprietors. The *petit blancs* were the scum of European society, who had emigrated to the West Indies with vague longings for a better condition in life; but they were held to their original state by the strong attachments of habitual vice, which had grown too strong to be sundered by any feeble effort. They were ignorant, and filled with strong prejudices, and by their being excluded from habitual fellowship with the class of great proprietors they were thrown into an ambiguous situation, half between the white and negro. Like every other degraded class, they were tyrants to those beneath them in the same proportion as they were themselves abased by those whose lot was cast above them. The mulatto planters scorned the *petit blancs* for their vices and ignorance, while they were compelled to yield them an outward respect which was demanded by the tyranny of caste. This class of whites was severe and cruel towards the negroes, for the peculiarity of the African is to imitate the conduct and opinions of his master, and they were slow to yield a profound respect to those whom they saw were treated as an inferior race. This negligence or contempt of the negro was cruelly punished by the lash, and slowly and incurably there arose an enmity between these menials of the plantations and the petty functionaries who were employed to control them.

The war of 1756 was one of peculiar disaster to the foreign possessions of France. The fleets and armies of her great rival were scattered over the whole circuit of the globe, and almost every battle was one of success to the enemy and of defeat and loss of territory to the French. The Canadas, Martinique and Guadaloupe had been already wrested from their possession, and with the intelligence of these disasters anxiety and consternation overspread the colony of St. Domingo. Alarmed for its safety the French ministry put forth every effort to preserve this, their most brilliant colony, from the grasp of the enemy. The Marquis de Belzunce, one of the most distinguished officers of the French army, was despatched to St. Domingo, to put that island in a condition to defend itself in the fearful circumstances which threatened it. He was accompanied by eight battalions of troops of the line, and under the energy and guidance of this veteran officer the colonists took heart, and hope began to dawn over the darkness of their despair. M. de Belzunce considered the northern coast of the colony as the most important to be preserved from hostile attack, and its fortunes, he deemed, would exert an influence salutary or the reverse on the destinies of the south. Cape François was accordingly re-fortified, and a communication opened between that place and Port Dauphin by establishing a line of stockade forts along the foot of the mountains that bound that plain on the south. The mountains themselves were examined, and the heights of St. Rose and Dondon were selected as points to be put in a condition of defence. Corvées of negroes were employed without intermission in hastening forward all these plans of fortification. Soon after this there came an ordonnance of the king to organize the entire military strength of the colony, to form a sort of levy en masse, in order to constitute an effective force which would cover every weak point along its coast. This was a sort of colonial army, destined to consist of fifty-four companies and five thousand men, to be raised partly from the troops of the line which were then garrisoned in the island, and partly from among the colonists themselves. But the population or the patriotism of the inhabitants was not sufficient to carry into effect this magnificent plan of the

ministry. But twenty-four companies were organized from the colonial population, and the remainder of the army was made up by enlistments from the troops of the line. In the midst of his activity M. Belzunce fell a victim to the climate, and was succeeded in the government by another soldier—the Count d’Estaing. The latter followed up with zeal and talent the line of policy marked out by his predecessor to render the colony safe from invasion; but the peace of 1763 ceased to render these preparations necessary, and the island had a respite of a few years from being embroiled in the contests of a distant quarter of the world.

During most of his stay in the colony Count d’Estaing was enthusiastically engaged in making attempts to settle a population in the comparatively desert tract of country that constitutes what is called the peninsula of the Mole St. Nicholas, and for this purpose he received a reinforcement of inhabitants from a quarter the least expected. After the conquest of Nova Scotia by the English, many of the French inhabitants still continued to occupy a tract of country originally settled by their ancestors, and to which had been given the name of Acadia. They were an amiable and pastoral people, and without giving up their nationality remained within the territory as peaceable and industrious subjects of Great Britain. They had ever refused to participate in any of the wars of the time, and they persisted successfully in maintaining a character of strict neutrality. But at the commencement of the late war the British ministry entered into the design of forcing these Acadians to unite with their fellow colonists to bear arms against the enemies of Britain. The fratricidal act of making war against their own countrymen, though it entered not into the casuistry of the British authorities, was to this gentle race something from which they recoiled with horror. In vengeance for this disloyalty the British government proceeded forthwith to drive them from their homes and ancient territory. To the number of twelve thousand, of every sex and age, they were forced from the land of their fathers, and scattered in poverty and wretchedness over almost the whole extent of the more independent colonies of North America. The unhappy lot of these exiles drew upon them

the attention and sympathy of the French government. A negotiation was set on foot through a merchant of New-York, by the name of Anson, to induce all who were willing to risk the noxiousness of the climate to emigrate to St. Domingo. A proclamation was addressed to them from Count d'Estaing, governor-general of the island, offering them land whereon to commence a settlement, and a sufficiency of sustenance until they were able to produce it from the soil. The invitation was accepted by many, and six hundred of them arrived at Cape François. They were first assigned lands and cabins in the devoted districts of Dondon and St. Rose, which border the plains of Cape François; but these situations proved fatally pestilential to them, and they died in masses. It was then thought that the less luxuriant soil of the Mole St. Nicholas would prove less prejudicial to their constitutions, and they were removed thither. But here also their hard destiny still pursued them. The French government had yielded to its sympathies by paying a debt of humanity to its unfortunate countrymen, and by it the colony of St. Domingo had gained an accession to its population; but unfortunately neither of them had sufficiently revolved the fatal chances of climate, or taken sufficient means to preserve and perpetuate the health of this unfortunate people. Count d'Estaing, who deeply sympathised with their lot, visited them in their new settlement, and found them scattered over the district, sheltered from the hot sunbeams only by the wild shrubbery under which they had dragged their wasted bodies to perish in despair. They had nothing but dry biscuit and salt provisions, which in their sickly condition they could not eat; and in grief they were brooding over the past, or in terror looking into the hopelessness of the future. All the agents of the government at the Mole St. Nicholas were sick, and the governor could find none but a roving pilot, who was ready for any employment, whom he engaged to fit up a hospital for the sick, and houses to cover those who remained in health. Facilities were granted by the governor to enable the little settlement to maintain itself. All duties were removed from importations into the port of the Mole, though this humane arrangement was afterwards countermanded with

disapprobation by the minister of marine. The governor soon after his return received a petition from the miserable remnant of Acadians, to be allowed a return to North America. They feared the destructive influence of the climate, and were discouraged by the unproductiveness of the soil in the district which had been assigned to them. Their wish was granted, and about two hundred of them departed for Louisiana, where they afterwards settled in the parishes of Opelousas and Attakapas. Those that remained in the colony were united to a body of German emigrants who had just arrived in the island, and who were removed to the southern shore of the peninsula of the Mole St. Nicholas, to settle a place which the French called Bombard. The fatal effects of attempting to colonize in an unhealthy climate refugees whose hopes and feelings are as desolate as their fortunes, was exemplified in the destiny of these German emigrants. To augment the population of St. Domingo allurements had been placed in the way of those who were miserable in Europe to better their fortunes by emigration to America. Furnished by the French government with supplies of rations, clothes, and utensils of agriculture, they arrived to the number of twelve hundred persons at Cape François. From that place they were conducted to the new settlement of Bombard, where they were to take up their future residence. The *corvées* of public slaves were hurried to furnish habitations for the new emigrants, and the best engineers of the colony directed their labors, in order to render the town commodious, and the lands convenient and productive to the new population. But not one seventh of their number survived the diseases of the following season to enjoy the rewards of their own industry or the generosity of their patrons, the French. They became gardeners and fishermen; but such was the fatal influence of the climate over them that in six years after their arrival within the colony but two hundred and fifty remained of their number. More than two thousand had fallen victims to disease and misery. A small remnant however survived, and in process of time they changed their business of gardening for the more profitable employment of coffee-planting. Cultivating their lands by their own labor, they continued in their insulated district

far from the brilliance as well as subsequent horrors of the more wealthy parts of the colony; and they shared not in their cruel destiny: for after all the changes and catastrophes of after times, a small population of them still remains in the place of their original settlement, and still discovers the characters of their ancient stock, honest and industrious, still German.*

The Count d'Estaing continued to administer the affairs of the colony till the year 1779, when with a large equipment of troops of the line and colonial forces he sailed for Savannah to assist in the struggle then going on between the colonies of North America and the parent state. The Marquis de Belzunce and the Count d'Estaing had been administrators of the government of St. Domingo, who were the pride of the ministry which had selected them, and the joy of the colony over which they bore rule. They were succeeded by one who was in all qualities their equal. This was the Count d'Ennery. Under the guidance of the Duc de Choiseul, minister of marine during the latter part of the reign of Louis XV. the possessions of France in America acquired a vigour and permanent prosperity which till then they had never so much enjoyed. Much of this impulse was communicated through the energy and intelligence of the Count d'Ennery. He had been made a general officer while very young, and at the peace of 1763 was extensively known as one whose military talents were of a superior kind. Urged forward by the foresight of the minister Choiseul, he subsequently became a statesman whose talents and virtues were of the first order. "Every one fears him though he has never done violence to any one," some one wrote from Martinique. Throughout the extent of his jurisdiction his influence was always felt in silence, but deep, pervading, and happy. Commerce was brightened and industry animated. All ranks were made to live together in peace, and the lot of the slave was made joyous in its toilsomeness. Under the auspices of his enterprise the island of St. Lucie was put in cultivation, and soon became a thriving colony. Having returned to France for the recovery of his health, he was called by the government to new sacrifices, to which he was solici-

* Moreau de St. Mery.

ited by the king himself. "Your reputation alone will be of the utmost service to me in St. Domingo," wrote the monarch. The administration of M. d'Ennery merited this confidence. During the short period of his rule in the island in the years 1774 and 1775, the most important services were rendered to the colony. The agriculture of the plantations was urged forward to the greatest degree of wealth and magnificence. The perpetual bickerings for the occupation of the frontier territory were definitely terminated by a final adjustment of the respective boundaries, and works of public defence and embellishment were finished to correspond with the importance and great interests of the colony: But this distinguished man, so useful to St. Domingo and to France, could not resist the noxious influence of the climate, and his death was a common calamity to the whole French West Indies. Monuments were erected to his memory, and his name was never pronounced but with reverence. With Ogeron and Larnage, d'Ennery became a name of veneration to the colonists. Nor was he endeared to the French alone. The English, with whom his duties had brought him in contact, bore honorable testimony to the worth of his character. "That is a man," said one of them, "who will never do or suffer an act of injustice."*

During none of the later epochs of the colony was St. Domingo altogether free from occasional acts of insubordination and disturbances, from the immense preponderance of its black population. The mountainous nature of its territory favored the concealment of runaway slaves, and afforded numerous points d'appui whence they could descend to rob and devastate in the plains. The names of many places in the island are still traceable to the terror inspired by the excesses of these maroons. Piton des Negres, Piton des Tenebres still indicate that on those frontiers of the plain of Cape François the runaway negro Polydor and his gang of brigands made their hiding place during their depredations in the year 1724. From these inaccessible retreats the maroons made their incursions into the plain of the Cape, to burn, plunder and assassinate. These forays became at length so frequent

* Voltaire. *Siecle de Louis XV.*

and so destructive that it was found necessary to assemble the whole force of the district to capture the maroon chief, or break up his haunt. A last M. Nautel, through the assistance of one of his negroes, succeeded in taking him in a savanna, where he was immediately put to death.

Upon the plantation Normand at Limbé, labored the negro Macandal. Having lost his hand in a mill he was set to tend herds of cattle upon a platte, or grazing plantation. He remained here but a short time before he fled to the woods and became an incorrigible maroon. Having procured some arsenic, or other species of poison, he rendered himself famous, and made his name a terror by procuring the death of both whites and blacks whose misfortune it was to incur his hatred, or stand in the way of his designs. Acts of poisoning became so frequent throughout the district that many in terror were afraid to satisfy the cravings of their hunger for fear some secret and deadly preparation had been mixed with the food. Macandal kept an open school of the art he professed, and his subordinate agents were stationed in all directions, and death flew wherever he directed the signal. Emboldened by the certainty of his positions and the numbers of his associates, he conceived the idea of poisoning all the whites of the colony. The affright was terrible when not a day passed over but some one died suddenly in tortures, after eating his usual meal. The authorities were vigilant and indefatigable, but their attempts to get possession of the monster were but too unsuccessful, and every fresh exertion was invariably followed by alarming increase in the number of sudden deaths. At length, while the negroes of the plantation Dufresne at Limbé were holding a dance, Macandal, emboldened by long impunity, came among them. His presence was betrayed by a young negro who dreaded his arts, and tafia being distributed freely among the revellers, Macandal in spite of his habitual caution yielded to the usual propensities of his race, and became drunk. In this state of helplessness he was taken prisoner, and carried into the principal house, where, bound and guarded by two white men, he was retained in custody till the authorities could arrive from Cape François. The young men who acted as a guard to the prisoner fell asleep, and

Macandal, perhaps assisted by some of his numerous agents, set himself at liberty. Having extinguished the lights he leaped from the window and escaped to a neighboring savanna. The noise awoke the keepers of Macandal, and they were surprised and ashamed that their prisoner had escaped. All was bustle and pursuit; dogs were put upon his trail; his hiding place was soon discovered, and the fugitive taken for the second time. Macandal was condemned to be burnt at the Cape, in the year 1758; but he boasted that he would escape from the whites in some other form, particularly distinguishing the fly as the animal most likely to serve his purpose in extricating himself from the flames. Accident almost made his folly prophetic, for in the immense exertions he made to escape from the pain of the fire, the cord that confined him was burst asunder, and at one bound he leaped clear of the circle of flames that surrounded him. The negroes in terror and admiration cried out, "Macandal sauvé, Macandal sauvé."* But he was readily re-captured, tied to a plank and thrown into the flames. The negroes however never could be made to believe that Macandal was burnt. They considered him far above the influence of fire: but his name became accursed among his race, and to compare a negro to Macandal became one of the most unpardonable of insults.

The mountains of Bahoruco near Cape Beate on the southern coast of the island acquired great celebrity during the times of the colony, by their being the residence of a horde of maroon negroes for the long period of eighty-five years; until those mountains came at last to be regarded as their legitimate domain, and the plains below were made the theatres of their devastation and periodical inroad. As early as the year 1702 a body of runaway negroes had congregated themselves in this rugged region, and made incursions among the plantations in the plains of Port au Prince and of the south, which were so frequent and destructive that it was found necessary to make an endeavor to drive them from their haunt. M. Galiffet was despatched against them at the head of fifteen men. This little force was in the woods for sixty-eight days, and during this time they were threading their

* "Macandal is saved !—Macandal is saved !"

toilsome way through the wilderness, often for days without water. At last they came up with the maroons, of whom they killed three and made prisoners of eleven, while the rest effected their escape. The French destroyed their gardens and huts, and trusted that they had effectually broken up their head quarters. The force of the maroons was, however, soon recruited, and they recommenced their inroads on the settlements. These were continued at longer or shorter intervals for a period of thirteen years, when from long tranquillity these marauders had so grown in numbers and boldness that another expedition to dislodge them became necessary to the very existence of the plantations situated in the plain of Port au Prince and Cul de Sac. A new force was raised and put under the orders of M. Dubois, but its success was small, most of the maroons effecting their escape. After various attempts in different years, almost all of which eventuated in failure, another expedition was fitted out in the year 1746, which was more successful in accomplishing its object. The maroons were overtaken in their flight, and many of them destroyed, and their whole domain was laid waste. A short season of tranquillity was the result, followed, however, after a little time had elapsed, by more fearful ravages than ever. Inroads were constantly made into the low country, and every thing put to the fire and sword, while the negroes of the plantations were carried off to the mountains. This could not be endured for a longer time, and a body of mulatto chasseurs was despatched against this formidable enemy. The mulattoes arrived safely at the post of the maroons, who were found entrenched and dancing defiance behind their breastwork. Maddened at this insolence, the fiery mulattoes jumped into the ditch before the work, and were immediately impaled on pointed sticks of wood, which had been covered with leaves and grass. But nothing daunted at this unexpected obstacle, the troops carried the post, and many of the maroons were killed.

During the administration of M. Belzunce these negroes were less troublesome, but their depredations were renewed once more under that of M. d'Ennery. To protect the plantations in the plain a small stockade was now built at the foot of the mountains, but this proved quite insufficient

to restrain their ravages, for in spite of its interposition continual inroads were made into the plain, and with the very extreme of impudence the banditti made an attack upon the fortification itself. The evil had now grown so great and inveterate that higher efforts became necessary for its removal. Negotiations were set on foot between the governors of the French and Spanish territories for a coöperation of the colonial forces of both nations, in order to subdue these banditti of the mountains. The regular troops, under M. de St. Vilmé, were ordered to rendezvous at Croix des Bouquets, and here they were joined by the mulatto chasseurs of the Cul de Sac and Port au Prince. M. de St. Vilmé commenced his march and soon gained the mountains of Bahoruco. The negro camp was discovered, but their dogs had given them warning of the approach of the French column, and they had fled to the entangled thickets or numerous caverns of the mountains, whither, ignorant as they were of the nature of the region, the troops could not penetrate. Overcome with fatigue, and reduced to great distress by the want of water, the latter were obliged to fall back on the settlements. Having refreshed his troops and laid in a new supply of provisions for a month, M. de St. Vilmé took up his march again for the interior, but he could now find no maroons among the mountains. They were one after another traversed and ransacked, but nothing was found save the silent solitude of the wilderness. At length a Spaniard offered to guide St. Vilmé to the caverns, where it was thought the negroes were concealed, but the French had now exhausted all their supply of water, and it was necessary to wait in the mountains until a fresh quantity could be procured from the plain below. At this period of the expedition a supply of provisions was obtained from Jacmel by the arrival of a batteau from that place at Cape Beate. When all was ready the troops began to toil their way along the precipices and rugged difficulties of the mountain sides. After some time they reached the caverns of the negroes, but they had been just abandoned, and the maroons had fled to the Spanish territory. M. de St. Vilmé, in despair of making the expedition available to the attainment of its object, among so many difficulties springing up at every step, gave

orders to return to Port au Prince. This expedition cost 80,000 livres to the colony, together with three months' labor of fifty negroes and forty mules employed in transporting its provisions, and it was completely unsuccessful, not having attained a single object for which it had been so laboriously and expensively sustained. The persevering and incorrigible maroons were soon at their old practices, and their ravages spread anxiety and terror throughout the whole plain of Port au Prince. In one of their frequent inroads the plantation of M. Coup    was attacked and plundered, and his negro house keeper carried off a prisoner. Anna, a friend to order and decency, stubbornly refused to accompany a horde of lawless banditti into an uninhabited wilderness; but her faithful virtue availed her nothing, for she was bound and dragged by force. After a two day's march the negroes arrived at their cantonment, and Anna was consigned over by the captain of the maroons to his servant for a wife. Anna having no faith in a marriage de convenance under such circumstances, obstinately resisted this disposition of her person, and in the dilemma the chieftain himself offered to take her in the capacity of wife. But she would acknowledge no tenderness for him, and treated the high alliance with such lightness as to attempt an escape. She was retaken and adjudged by the angry negroes to die. But her coyness, beauty or heroism had now wrought powerfully upon the maroon chief, Kebinda, and prompted by love he saved her from the death to which his confederates had condemned her; but it was only to be chagrined that no feelings of gratitude could enkindle a spark of affection in the bosom of Anna. To the urgent entreaties of Kebinda, which had been hotly pressed in a long and close siege of four months, Anna at length yielded so far as to consent to marry him, provided the ceremony was performed decently in church. To this hard condition Kebinda was obliged to yield, and as there was no church in the mountains of Bahoruco, the "plighted pair" set off by night, and travelling rapidly arrived in the grey of the morning at the outposts on the frontiers of the Spanish territory. Here Anna gave a shout, and Kebinda was almost immediately surrounded by his enemies, and saw when it was too late that he had

been made a victim to the treachery of her whom he adored. Anna for this act of loyalty was manumitted by the French colonial government, and had bestowed upon her the name of Anna Fidele. Kebinda did not live to be hung; he perished in prison soon after, from the chagrin of being thus overreached and the despair of unrequited love.

The maroons were well posted; for the colonial forces, from the ruggedness of the country and its total destitution of water, could effect nothing against them, and every expedition fitted out to dislodge and capture them returned exhausted and unsuccessful. M. de St. Larry, whose plantation was nearest to the dangerous Anse a Pitre, as one of the most notorious haunts of the maroons was called, was consequently the most exposed to their depredations, and the most desirous that they should be exterminated. Suspecting the Spaniards of a connivance with the maroons for purposes of trafficking with them for their plunder, he undertook to make this circumstance serve the purpose of bringing about an accommodation with the negroes. Having attached to his interests one Diego Felix, a free Spanish quateroon, and three white Spaniards, he endeavored through their agency to bring over the maroons to treat with the French colonial government. The answer of the negroes was favorable to an adjustment, and St. Larry received intimations from the government to persevere in his exertions. Presents were sent through Diego Felix, and a place was appointed for an interview between St. Larry and a dozen of the negro chiefs, in a wild spot at the distance of fifteen miles from the residence of the former. On the day appointed fourteen negroes appeared at the place of rendezvous. They were entirely naked excepting a tunga, or strip of cloth that was tied about their waist. They were armed with muskets and manchettes, and had cartridge boxes at their girdles. Diego Felix acted as gentleman usher to the meeting, and by him the black chieftains were introduced to the white commissioners, M. de St. Larry for the French, and Don Lopez of Silvere for the Spaniards. Santiago, a Spanish negro who had been carried off from the town of Banica forty-five years before, and Philip, a maroon born in the woods, the two principal chiefs,

declared the consent of their community to an arrangement which would permit them to retire to the district of Neybe, under the guidance of three or four Spaniards, and which stipulated that after a year's residence in that place they should all be baptized at Neybe and proceed immediately to the place agreed on as their final residence. Santiago presented one hundred and thirty-seven grains of corn to indicate the number of those under his command, and M. de St. Larry, having assented to the proposed conditions and distributed presents to the maroons of linen and Madras handkerchiefs, left them with the promise to return in two months from that day. Soon after this occurrence Diego Felix came to M. Desmarattes, who had commanded an expedition against the maroons twenty years before, to inform him that they wished to see his son. From the amicable disposition now manifested by the negroes, the young man had no fear to trust himself in their power. Guided by Diego Felix he traversed a long wilderness of verdant or barren territory, and after a journey of nine days arrived on the banks of the river Nisao. Diégo fired his gun, and in a short space of time they were joined by thirty-two armed negroes. Young Desmarattes remained for two days with them, was treated with respect and affection, and conducted back to the French settlements. The negroes told him of their earnest desire to be reconciled to the whites, and to have assigned to them a tract of territory where they might live in quietude and subjection to the laws. More than a year, however, passed away in discussions between the colonial authorities, some of whom doubted the policy of ratifying the treaty with the maroons. The latter, grown impatient of this long delay, came themselves to M. Desmarattes, to learn from him why their terms of compromise had not been granted. M. Desmarattes conducted them to Port au Prince, and the governor general having communicated with the Spanish authorities, appointed the former as commissioner on the part of the French to conclude a definitive arrangement. The Spanish governor appointed Don Luis de Chavez y Mendoza, chief judge of the Royal Audience of Santo Domingo, as commissioner on his part, with power to grant their liberty to those maroons who had been born

within the Spanish territory, and would consent to retire to the place selected for their future residence. The two commissioners proceeded to the mountains of Bahoruco, and a definitive arrangement was concluded on the 28th of May, 1785.

The number of maroons was found to be much smaller than had been estimated by the rumors of the time, founded on the frequency and extent of their inroads. The whole number amounted to little more than one hundred and thirty, of whom one hundred and twenty-five were French negroes or their descendants. Santiago, though a Spanish negro, it was agreed should be included with the French, and assigned lands and a subsistence within the French territory. All the establishments of the maroons in the mountains were to be broken up, and the negroes engaged ever afterward to pursue and arrest the runaway slaves of both nations, and they were to be paid the price of twelve dollars for each, according to the treaty of 1777. This definitive arrangement was ratified by the colonial governments, and a proclamation was published, granting liberty to the maroons and oblivion for the past. Provisions were furnished them for eight months, until they could be procured from the soil. With the exception of a few who at first refused to report themselves at the place of their cantonment, the negroes were punctual to perform their part of the stipulations, and committed no more hostilities upon the settlements in the plain. But though the terror caused by their inroads soon subsided, the district of Anse a Pitre was for a long time afterward the place where the scene was laid of many a frightful legend, and settlements were made slowly and with much caution along its neighborhood.

Thus terminated the long series of petty warfare maintained for so many years by a little community of refugee negroes. They had been for nearly a century the terror of the south, and their continual depredations had been serious obstacles in the way of the settlements in near proximity to their usual sojourn. Many negroes were found in the ranks of the brigands whose birth was dated from the woods, and who had lived a life of wild adventure in them for a period of sixty years. The precariousness of their situation, and the perpetual fear of

being captured, had impressed in strong lines upon their features and movements the peculiar character of their habitudes. Their distinctive peculiarity was an air of inquietude that trembled at every sudden impression, and was on its guard at every new cause of fear. All the exaggerated accounts of their numbers and dread exploits would fill a volume. As seen through the dim and misty medium of habitual terror, their petty forces had often been magnified to a large and well appointed army. Their real home was a spot situated far in the wilderness toward the river Nisao, east of the mountains of Batoruco and north of the Spanish town of Azua. But when a descent was in contemplation into the settlements of the French, their rendezvous was in the mountains of Batoruco, and when followed thither they fled immediately to the distant and entangled recesses of their true sojourn. They kept up a communication with the plain of Port au Prince by a long chain of outposts consisting of ajoupas or thatched cabins, in sufficient proximity to each other to make a continuous line extending through the whole distance from their main body to the open country. They had also great numbers of dogs, which were trained to flee at the approach of a white man, and one of these dogs with two negroes constituted the garrison of each of their outposts. On any occasion of alarm these sentinels and dogs fell back in succession from one ajoupa to another, till they arrived at the main body and gave warning of the approach of danger. They had always been in league with many of the lower classes of Spaniards, who were frequently sent into the towns to purchase arms and munitions for their worthy allies. When on an expedition for plunder they concealed themselves in ambuscade, and watched for a favorable moment, when they burst forth from their hiding place and were soon in possession of the plantation, which they pillaged of every thing valuable, and sometimes they set fire to the buildings. They were cruel when they wished to intimidate or revenge, but sometimes they were merciful and even generous through sheer caprice. They uniformly saved the lives of their negro captives, but not to set them at liberty, but to make them their slaves. Those runaway slaves who came voluntarily to join their com-

munity were subjected to a long and painful novitiate before they could be admitted to the honors of matriculation, and the least suspicion of treachery was the signal of immediate death. During the expedition of St. Vilmé they had been put to great straits for provisions, being reduced in their hiding places to live on the bark of trees and wild berries. A dysentery broke out among them in consequence, which destroyed them in great numbers. This calamity was followed by the small pox, which by its fearful ravages reduced their numbers to a handful. Amid such horrible inflictions they were strongly impelled to deliver themselves up, but the ascendancy of their chief, Santiago, whose authority and influence were based upon a long and successful command of nearly fifty years, prevented them. Santiago ruled them through the innate superstition of the negro. He affected to be a good and legitimate *Padré*, and by a multitude of rites and contortions he made daily demands on their admiration—a little crucifix and rosary being in his hands the armor through which he triumphed over their ignorance.*

St. Domingo had now attained a degree of brilliance that threw every other colony in the world infinitely in the shade. The soil, not yet exhausted and become effete, poured forth immense gains into the treasury of France, and made the planters and merchants of the island nobles and princes. It was a splendid specimen of what the enterprise and industry of man can accomplish when aided by the propitiousness of such a genial soil and climate. Industry there obtained such rewards as no where else could be procured, and in a little more than a century it had sprung into the foremost rank of all agricultural countries. A teeming population, part of it refined and brilliant, and all of it thriving and happy, animated its shores, lately the residence of solitude and wildness. To a waste of eternal forests, that waved to the echoes of undisturbed and tenantless nature, had succeeded a picture of skilful and varied cultivation, which blessed the eye of man as much by the beauty of its landscape, as its abundant and valuable harvest ministered to his comforts and luxuries. An active commerce united it with Europe, and twenty ports of trade were

* Moreau de St. Mery.

filled with fifteen hundred vessels waiting to freight home its rich productions. All was peace and prosperity. "Every evening," says Humboldt, "the slaves of both sexes were to be seen dancing in festive circles, and the sound of music and the voice of gladness were heard on all sides. The traveller, captivated by the spectacle, blessed the beneficent hand of nature which had provided such means of felicity for the humblest of its family." The French colonial system in relation to St. Domingo was based on the wish to augment to the utmost, and to monopolize all the profits to be gained from such a colony. The industry of the colonists was limited to the cultivation of those articles alone which could not be produced in France. The interests of the mother country were pledged to the maintenance of slavery, without which the soil could not be cultivated, while as the price of protection and political parentship, the commerce of the colony for all its most valuable productions was exclusively confined to the mother country. This would not be wrong if the performance of the several stipulations were rigidly mutual, and every consideration and allowance made for the vicissitudes of season and of commerce; and if the parent government had abstained from its attempt to legislate for a distant colony against the known wishes of its inhabitants, or had not endeavored to compel all events to follow the strait and narrow path of a system that was to have no exceptions.

Unfortunately for both countries, this course was not pursued. The severity of the winter of 1788—9 had cut off almost all the harvests in France, and St. Domingo, from its intimate dependence on the mother country saw itself destined to suffer in common with the latter. The colony was threatened with famine, to prevent which an ordonnance was issued by the governor general, the Marquis du Chilleau, opening the ports of Aux Cayes, Jeremie and Jacmel to foreign commerce for a period of five years. In the fears and anxiety of the time the planters hailed this measure as the earnest of their salvation, and the entrance of foreign grain and flour into the colony changed the aspect of the future from despair to confidence and joy. For this act of policy the Marquis du Chilleau became the petted favorite of the people, while

M. Marbois, the intendant, for his opposition to the measure was loaded with a proportionate quantity of obloquy and blame. Enthusiasm knows no medium. While Du Chilleau was blessed as the deliverer of the colony from coming disaster, Marbois, though generally wise and always honest, was considered as the originator of every evil that afflicted it. After a long and somewhat heated discussion, in a sitting of the Conseil Superieur of Port au Prince, the ordonnance was at last enregistered, notwithstanding the opposition of M. Marbois. But the minister of marine, M. de la Luzerne, would have no such infringements to break in upon the regular and uniform operation of his colonial system. The ordonnance was rescinded, and to punish the popular governor general, he was recalled in some disgrace, and his enemy, Marbois, triumphed over him by retaining his power in the colony. The fervid tempers of the planters were aroused to indignation by this outrage on their interests and wishes, and a storm of popular hatred and civil commotion thickened over the path of M. Marbois. Political pamphlets and inflammatory essays from the presses of Port au Prince and Cape Francois poured a torrent of invective and sarcasm on the head of the intendant, and the storm of excitement did not single him as the only victim to its fury. The rights as well as justice of the mother country were arraigned, and it was denied that she could by her arbitrary edicts, paralyze the prosperity of a colony which had grown by its own industry, and should be left to seek a happiness in its own resources.

Just previous to this cause of discontent, another, perhaps not less grave in its nature and consequences, had been inflicted on the colony by the unlucky minister of marine. In the year 1787 the Conseil Superieur of Cape Francois had been suppressed and united to its cotemporary tribunal of Port au Prince, and the policy was instituted of having but one high court for the whole colony. The reasons urged for this procedure were the necessity of having more concentration in the judiciary of the colony, and the expediency of preventing the real or fancied evil arising from the existence of two courts of equal power and jurisdiction, and whose interests might not always be alike. But whatever foundation there might be for these rather ab-

struse arguments, the inconvenience to which the more distant colonists were subjected in the administration of justice, were real grievances, and were loudly exclaimed against. This was more especially the case with the inhabitants of Cape Francois, whose pride was also wounded by the measure; and this town, from its wealth, population and intelligence had ever given the tone of manners and feeling to all other parts of the colony. Clamor and reproach were heaped upon the minister who had originated the measure, and upon the colonial administrator who had carried it into execution. The new court itself made the first use of its powers to remonstrate against the policy of uniting the two tribunals of the colony, and to urge a return to the old arrangement, which was absolutely necessary from the great extent of the colony, and the multitudinous number of its lawsuits. The minister, half acknowledging his error, promised a restoration of things to their ancient condition; and the king in the mean time to console the judicial functionaries themselves, was gracious enough to permit them to wear in the hall of their session, and on days of public ceremony, a scarlet hat and robes of ermine, made in the same fashion and in all other respects the same as those worn by the members of the parliament of Paris, "to remind them (says the ordonnance) that they are the august depositaries of justice, and that to fail in their duties is to be perjured in the eyes of the universe"*

* Moreau de St. Mery.

CHAPTER IV.

French philosophy—popular effervescence—effects of the French Revolution upon the colony—claims of the mulattoes—amis des noirs—murder at Petit Goave—convocation of a colonial assembly—legislation of the National Assembly in relation to St. Domingo—enterprise of M. Mauduit at Port au Prince—attack upon the assembly of St. Marks, and its voluntary expatriation—murder of M. Codere—enterprise of the mulatto Oge—his capture and execution—mobs at Port au Prince—murder of M. Mauduit—new decree of the National Assembly—its unpopularity in the colony—new assembly at Cape François—negro disturbances—insurrection in the plain of Cape François—horrors of the time.

THE intellectual culture of the age, and the growth of a spirit of bold speculation in France, had for a long time been operating a silent change in the moral condition and aspect of its colonies. The Frenchman of the Indies had learned to imitate his brethren of Europe in the boldness that subjected to a jealous scrutiny the designs of power, and in the discontent that was panting for innovation. This new grown freedom, that often stretched to licentiousness, had been lately exercised in the wordy war that overspread the colony with exasperation, on account of the unpopular edicts of the minister of marine. Political dissatisfaction no longer displayed itself only by acts of vague and objectless mutiny, but embodied itself in the organized form of a systematic opposition, intent on curbing excess of power through the energy of moral influence alone.

The popular doctrines that now began to grow omnipotent in the French metropolis were zealously taught and eagerly adopted in every corner of the earth that was inhabited by a French population. The bright dawn of an age of high intellectual power had soon become overcast and portentous with the fearful workings of a false philosophy and a licentious scepticism. These insinuating but delusive sophisms found but few obstacles in the way of their progress among the fervid fancies and rather loose morality of the creoles in the West Indies. Political doctrines, which aimed destruction against ancient institutions, and were a basis to new systems of govern-

ment, the visionary excellence of which would be scarcely practicable among the purer spirits of another sphere, were now the order of the day, and were cherished by the exalted imagination of the time as a new revelation of man's earthly destiny. In the exaltation of the moment nothing was thought too difficult to be accomplished, and no bounds were deemed necessary to the vast expansiveness of thought. To reform a corrupted government was to overturn all the venerable institutions of former times and call it a national regeneration, and to bring back religion from the defilements of polytheism was to extinguish the lamp of hope and bury the immortality of man in the grave of a cold and comfortless materialism. The French populace, which had for ages been sunk in frivolity, or paralyzed by ignorance and degradation, now, under the impulses of the new intelligence and amid the wants of a bloated despotism, that was tottering to its destruction, was seeking in a revolution an era of happier fortunes. A universal fever burned and convulsed the entire organization of French society. In the continual and overstrained excitement that characterized the brilliant epoch immediately preceding the French Revolution, the excessive buoyancy of the national temperament could not be confined to earth, or restrained to sober views of things. When it was thought possible that the mind might be so wrapt and exalted that in the phrenzy of its abstraction it could attain a point whence the future might be seen as the present, or that man, through the sheer omnipotence of his intellectual energy might put himself in the place of God, and by a word create a world, it was demonstrable that this could not be a generation better than all others to remodel a government throughout all its complicated organization, and make it to minister good, as well as withstand all shocks of evil, in the changes and events of all coming times. But the necessities of the court had now introduced the people within the citadel of power, and they would not be dislodged till they had secured to themselves their portion of its dazzling and intoxicating spoils.

While the discussions and elections connected with a new convocation of the *States General* were in progress in France, the great planters of St. Domingo were equally

busy in discussing the policy of the colonial government, and devising a new system of power, to be more adapted to the circumstances of the country, and more assimilated to the opinions of the age in which, as they deemed, a glorious chance had so happily cast their existence. The great planters constituted a body of oligarchs, whose opinions were as exclusive towards the classes beneath them as they were unyielding and defiant to the constituted authorities, who in virtue of their situation were superiors over them. It began to be considered a derogation to the dignity and importance of St. Domingo, that its rulers were imported from France, while the aristocracy of the country, which constituted its natural support, was excluded from its legitimate influence in the state, and made subservient to the absolute control of a stranger, who had been selected without a due respect to the interests and feelings of that order. If the pretensions of the rich colonists did not aspire to absolute independence, their heads were warmed by the egotism of a new system, the operation of which was to give them the power of electing their own rulers. The lower class of whites, with views and opinions less definite and fixed, was agitated by a thousand feelings, all originating in some vague notion that a period had arrived fraught deep with the richest hopes and blessings for their own order. No fact is more certain than that all authority is secretly offensive to man—the more so when it is on the increase; and the petits blancs of the colony hated the restraints of its government the more that they were deprived of all means of mitigating its severity, while of all whites they were the most frequently subjected to its inflictions. Discontented with their condition, and goaded on by a host of demagogues, they overflowed with the new politics of the day, and teemed with opinions on all past and passing events: all which were expressed in the new-fangled verbiage of the revolution. They were filled with new spleen against the class of their superiors, and on the other hand burned with tenfold hatred against their old enemies, the free mulattoes, who equally with the others were filled with hopes of an approaching change that was to bring an improvement to their condition. All classes of whites were united on one point. They condemned the condition of

pupillage, which obliged them to submit to governors sent out from France to rule the colony, and most of them were unanimous in their hatred of M. Marbois, the intendant, while they lauded to the heavens the generous policy of Du Chilleau, the late governor, who, in opposition to the wishes of his associate in office, had opened the ports of the colony to foreign commerce. All was a hectic flush of excitement, and every one was in his own way and estimation a patriot, philanthropist and legislator. None were so quiet as the free people of color, who really contented with the quiet lapse of their years and the thrift of their fortunes, or fearing some outrage should they manifest any desire for change at such a period of ebullition, remained in tranquillity upon their plantations. Some rich planters who were, at the epoch in question, residing at their hotels in Paris, formed themselves into an association called the Massaic Club, to coöperate with the rest of their order in the colony to procure a representation of St. Domingo in the National Assembly. By a series of intrigues in Paris, and correspondent movements in the colony, a delegation was formed for the island, not by popular election in the primary assemblies of the people, but by arbitrary selection from the class of rich proprietors. About a month after the States General had metamorphosed themselves into the National Assembly, eighteen members, part of them from the island itself, and part from among the members of the Massaic Club, appeared at the bar of the National Assembly as the representatives of St. Domingo, and as such demanding a seat in that body. But their number appeared excessive considering the population and comparative importance of the colony of St. Domingo, and it was not without a long debate and the interposition of many difficulties, that six of them at last were permitted to sit as members.

The effervescence that was universal in the colony, however it was originated, and by whatever doctrines or designs sustained, was all embodied for the present in hatred to the intendant Marbois and the minister Luzerne; and the particular act of power which now furnished a theme to angry declamation was the removal of the Conseil Supérieur from Cape François to Port au Prince. The hauteur of Lucerne, manifested in his answer to a

petition for the restoration of the court to its former place of sitting, and the new flood of essays and political pamphlets that deluged the colony, from its own presses and those of France, wrought up the colonial temper to an excitement that was almost phrenzy. Nor was this appeased by the publication of the plan drawn up by M. de la Luzerne for the representation of St. Domingo in the States General. This was found to have been based upon the exclusive pretensions of the rich proprietors, who alone constituted the class whence the representation of the colony was to be derived. This aroused the fury of the petit blancs, not only against the minister who had dictated such an arrangement, but against the objects of it, the class of rich proprietors themselves. So deadly was this hatred, that in many parishes the more respectable people were forced to conceal themselves to escape being torn in pieces by the infuriate mob.

Things were in this state when intelligence arrived in the colony of the seditious and revolutionary spirit which was now, like a universal pestilence, maddening and destroying throughout all France. The insurrections in Paris, the destruction of the Bastile, and the formation of the national guard, were events which, instead of striking the whole colony with panic and horror, that they might be the next to feel the bitter consequences of this anarchy, were announced with a thrill of wild, tumultuous joy, and enkindled a flame of mad excitement that portended nothing but disaster to the colony. In the first transports of their enthusiasm they mounted the new national cockade, and a respectable inhabitant of Aux Cayes having answered the reproaches of the mob for his appearing in the streets without one of these decorations, by some ill-timed and imprudent reflections on the revolution, was immediately shot dead by the rioters. His head was then cut off and paraded upon the end of a pike in advance of the mob, and the authorities were unable or unwilling to interfere against the murder and outrage.* Clubs were formed every where, and their influence was spread in a thousand ramifications through every parish in the colony. Some of them in the larger towns boldly avowed themselves the directors of the affairs of the colony, but they

* Lacroix.

generally held their sittings in secret, and discussed their dark schemes of ambition or vengeance in places suited to the nature of their deeds. The colonial government in vain issued its orders that not more than five persons should assemble together at once. Without regarding the dizzy height of the precipice upon which they stood, or the dark abyss of disaster that opened beyond, all had caught the watchwords of the revolution, and were gladdened at the prospect of a glorious regeneration which was opening on their future fortunes. The inhabitants of Cape Francois now hesitated not to redress their grievances by an exertion of their own sovereignty. A meeting was held in the theatre, and twelve persons were selected, who, accompanied by an armed force, took up their march immediately for Port au Prince, to compel the colonial government to restore the Conseil Superieur again to Cape Francois, to procure the flight of M. Mardelle, the king's attorney, and M. Marbois, the upright but unpopular intendant of the colony. The expedition, on its arrival at the capital, learned that the object of its journey was accomplished. Marbois, hearing tidings of the advance of the hostile deputation, and overwhelmed with a storm of reproach from every quarter, had yielded to the instances of the new governor, the count Peinier, and embarked for France, and M. Mardelle had retired to his plantation in the Cul de Sac. The expedition having nothing more to accomplish returned to the Cape in triumph.

Every new change in the aspect of things in France was faithfully copied in St. Domingo. It was resolved to remodel the military of the colony, and to form a national guard after the example of the French metropolis, and that service which had once been a grievance now became a mania. There was a universal spirit of enlistment, and the dazzle of uniforms, promotions, and military eclat, charmed and blinded every individual. The utmost excess of creole vanity was fully satiated, and the inferior grades of major, colonel, and even general, were considered infinitely too humble to be sought after, when every one aspired to be captain general and commander in chief. To add to this intoxication, every private soldier who could not formerly have extended his ambition beyond the

hope of one day becoming a drill-sergeant, now claimed for the smallest services to be rewarded with the cross of St. Louis, and an inundation of crosses was the consequence. That nothing might be wanted to give efficiency to the newly organized military, by furnishing it an opportunity to display its prowess in arms, the report was got up that a plan of the government was in preparation for the utter annihilation of the patriots. It was circulated among the turbulent population of Cape Francois that a force of three thousand blacks was assembling at the Haut de Cap* to make an attack upon the town. All was fierceness and trepidation. A large detachment of the new national guard hurried immediately to the field of battle, but found no enemy and returned, but not without the loss of one of their number, who by some unskilful use of firearms had fallen by a shot from one of his comrades. It is not always that men are left in ignorance that their misfortunes are to be traced to their own follies or crimes. When, as the drama of the revolution advanced, the revolt of the slaves came to deepen its horrors, the ruling spirits among the latter were discovered to be the very negroes who had acted as guides to this doughty expedition to the mountains.

The demon of faction and disorder was now every where supreme, and the seditious spirit of the clubs was felt in every opinion and movement of the mass. The executive duties of the government were in a state unfixed and fluctuating, and it was difficult to decide whether power still remained to the governor general or had all passed from him to the clubs. A small triumph was gained by the friends of order at Cape Francois, when, affrighted at the approaches of civil war and universal anarchy, that town imitated the example of Paris, and divided itself into ten sections, in each of which the peace of the citizens was secured by the establishment of a regular municipality. The good policy of this measure soon manifested itself in the abatement of disorder and the speedy subsidence of a portion of the insurrectionary spirit of the time. Unceasing efforts were, however, continually in exercise on the part of the patriots to spread the poison of their principles among the population, and to array their proselytes

* A suburb of Cape Francois

against the colonial government and the class of rich proprietors. The governor general, count Peinier, was like his master ill-suited to the fearful times on which he had fallen. Timid and cautious, he dared not array an open and vigorous hostility against the disorganizing spirit that was fast undermining the fabric of his power. Amiable and courteous, he sought a path of peace when the tiger-spirit of sedition and anarchy was every where raising its yells of hatred and cruelty in his ear. He could have presided with dignity and applause in the aristocratic circles of the fauxbourg St. Germain, or as the governor of a peaceful town his personal qualities would have made him the favorite of the people; but of all persons he was the most incompetent to rule the whirlwind march of a national revolution. Embarrassed in his measures, and bearded in the very scene of his authority, he looked around in vain for some aid to countenance and sustain him in his arduous career. The pride and ambition of the great proprietors taught them to regard him as an intruder in the colony, the usurper of privileges which, were justice done, would have been their own by exclusive right, and they refused to coöperate with him, though at the risk of digging a mine under themselves which was to hurl them to destruction. The patriots, occupied solely with the sentiment of hatred towards all those who were above them in rank as well as worth, and imbued to the uttermost with notions of political regeneration and human perfectibility—those *ignes fatui* that were then leading the fanatics of France in a world of enchantment—had no sympathy with a creature of absolutism, who was the natural offspring of that ancient regime which their wisest and best were using all effort to destroy from the face of the earth.

Till the National Assembly published its Rights of Man the free colored population of St. Domingo had remained tranquil, and taken no part in the political excitement of the time. The natural operation of the principles contained in that celebrated instrument, was to create an immediate desire among the free colored population of the colonies to participate in the rights guaranteed by its enactments. A movement was soon manifest among them. The mulattoes petitioned that they might be invested

with their lately acknowledged rights, and demanded that they should be raised from their political degradation to full enfranchisement as citizens. They urged that their order, possessing one third of the real estate and one fourth of the personal effects of the colony, constituted its natural safeguard against the pretensions of the great proprietors on the one hand, and the seditious spirit of the lower class of whites on the other. A deputation of their number embarked for France, and while pleading their rights of citizenship at the bar of the National Assembly they made an offer of their treasures to the wants of the state; proposing in the name of their caste the payment of six millions, to be employed in the liquidation of the debt of their common country.

In the enthusiasm of the epoch there existed in France a strong prejudice against the West India colonies on account of the existence of slavery in them. This sentiment grew each day stronger as the revolution advanced, till the bitter invectives which were hurled against every form of real or fancied oppression so aroused the spirit of the nation that not even the mention of negro slavery could be borne without an outcry of indignation. In this effervescence of feeling the celebrated society of the amis des noirs* was formed. Presided over by Brissot, and sustained by the fervid eloquence of the Abbé Gregoire, this society spread its doctrines with inconceivable rapidity, and they became the subject of all conversations. It demanded the immediate abolition of the African slave trade, and though it did not at first require more than a melioration of the condition of the slave in the colonies, as the progress of opinion advanced it afterward called for the immediate and entire emancipation of the blacks. "I am one of the greatest proprietors of St. Domingo," exclaimed Charles de Lameth, "yet I declare to you that sooner than lose sight of principles so sacred to justice and humanity, I would prefer to lose all that I possess. I declare myself in favor of admitting the sang mêlés to the rights of citizenship, and for the freedom of the blacks."†

The influence of the amis des noirs was strong in the National Assembly, and high passions were enkindled by

* The negroes' friends. † Latroix.

the discussions on the petition of the mulattoes. Some of the leading members of that body, in their hot zeal for the new doctrines of universal liberty, made common cause with the mulattoes, giving them the peculiar hug and kiss of fraternization, through the magical virtue of which a race was admitted to the privileges of Frenchmen that till then had been a species of outcasts.

These workings of innovation aroused the alarm of all classes of whites in St. Domingo, and this alarm added fury to the hatred with which, as the representative of France, the governor general was regarded. The pretensions of the mulattoes aroused no other feeling than a species of contemptuous jealousy, but when the odious doctrines of the *amis des noirs* were known to have crept into the National Assembly, and given origin to discussions which wore a threatening aspect in relation to the colonies, that body, which had been hailed as the regenerator of St. Domingo, as well as France, became immediately the object of a hatred too deep for utterance. Such as had just been actuated by a spirit of patriotism and philanthropy so severe and levelling as to refuse to admit the solecism that one man could be superior to another, now denounced as aristocrats all who advocated the equal rights of a race that had been born free.

The first exertions made in the colony itself to aid the wishes of the mulattoes, and in furtherance of the plans of the *amis des noirs*, cost the life of the unfortunate enthusiast who put them forth. This was a mulatto named Lacombe. He was seized and immediately hung at Cape François for draughting a petition for the enfranchisement of his race. It was deemed incendiary and eminently dangerous, inasmuch as it was not drawn up in the usual form of petitions, but commenced with the asseveration, "In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."

Meantime the storm continued to thicken, and every new movement grew more and more portentous in its aspect. The province of the south at Aux Cayes, and that of the west at Port au Prince, established bodies of men of mixed executive and legislative power, which were called Provincial Assemblies, and were in permanent sitting. The province of the north assembled its depu-

ties at the Cape, and they took upon themselves the title of the Provincial Assembly of the North. The first result of its deliberations was a decree which dissolved the union of the two colonial courts, and restored the Conseil Superieur to its old place of session. Thus was annihilated one fruitful source of discontent in that province; and gratified by the applause that followed this measure the assembly followed up its labors. The office of king's attorney was abolished, in vengeance to that officer, and it was replaced by a body of municipality to maintain the laws within its jurisdiction.

The mulattoes continued to make occasional exertions to procure, if possible, an investiture of the privileges which they deemed had been decreed to them by the bill of rights. Those of Petit Goave petitioned the provincial assembly of Port au Prince for permission to be represented in that body. They were moderate in their wishes, not even demanding an equality of rights, but merely some melioration of the hardships of their condition, together with the privilege of being represented in the provincial assemblies. A number of them were immediately arrested, and compelled to disclose who had been the author of the petition. This was a white man, M. Ferrand des Baudieres, seneschal of Petit Goave. Without regard to his office of magistrate, or to his great respectability, he was immediately thrown into prison with the mulatto petitioners, and the organized club that held its sessions in that town began an investigation of the affair by resolving itself into a sort of court of inquest. The trial did not continue long. The people of the plain arrived in tumult at Petit Goave, and summoned the club to decide upon the case without a moment's delay. The president, in answer to these clamorous demands, having expressed that M. Ferrand was worthy of blame, the mob waited no longer. They rushed to the prison and dragged the unfortunate old man to the place of execution without waiting the issue of the trial, and the executioner beheaded him on the spot. The lifeless remains were outraged, and the head was paraded about the town on the end of a pike. The agents of this bloody rite, satisfied with one victim, or struck with remorse at the cruelty, pardoned the twenty-seven signers of the petition, but

only on the hard condition of their immediate departure from the country and perpetual exile. The petit blancs by their fierceness and cruelty in these proceedings planted a deep and enduring hatred in the bosoms of the mulattoes, which was only to be effaced by the sacrifice of blood for blood. The great proprietors already began to dread the wild excesses of these patriots, and to be more favorably inclined to the mulattoes; to whom they seemed disposed to grant many of their reasonable demands. In some parishes they were allowed to vote in the primary assemblies, and in the provincial assembly of Port au Prince they had been permitted to take the civic oath, subjected merely to a conditional formula, whereby they promised to yield a superior respect to the whites. The mulatto planters of the plain of the Artibonite and of Verrettes refused to submit to such humiliation. They were numerous and wealthy. They assumed a hostile attitude, and seemed determined to enforce their claims by open war. This was impolitic as well as wrong; for it was more an impulse of sudden indignation than a combined and systematic defence of their rights. The national guard of that neighborhood immediately took the field, and the mulattoes saw the error and danger of their movement, and dispersed without a show of battle. Their chiefs concealed themselves, and a few only were arrested; and these, while they were expecting the most summary justice on their heads, were suddenly liberated without punishment. The great proprietors who still held their power and influence in the north were prompted to mildness even in this instance of open insubordination, by their growing jealousy of the petit blancs, to whose bad passions they were unwilling to minister by any severity toward a class with which they now began to see the necessity of uniting, and which in the present state of the colony it would be the height of folly in them to crush. A soberer and more reflecting mood had been forced upon the planters by the progress of events, and they would have been happy had they seen the full extent of their danger, and the urgent necessity of an intimate union between the proprietors of every color against the outrages of the patriots, and the danger of an insurrection of the slaves. The intentions of the petit blancs had

become fearfully manifest, and they were not those of salutary reform, but of disorganization and plunder, while the mulattoes had immense interests to bind them to the prosperity of the colony, and sought only an acknowledgment of those rights which were their own both by decree of the National Assembly and by the freedom of their birth.

In the month of January, 1790, orders were issued by the governor to convoke an assembly of the colonists, in order to the formation of a new constitution, better adapted to the actual condition of the country, and more correspondent to the new order of things in France. The primary elections were held, and a body of two hundred and thirty members assembled, and commenced its deliberations at St. Marks under the title of the General Assembly of St. Domingo. It was composed principally of men whose political-principles were extreme, and who were as hostile to the authority of the governor general as they were determined in their hatred and resistance to what they deemed the encroachments of the mulattoes. They had applied the term *general* to their assembly, because one of them had by some means discovered that the word *colonial* implied subjection. The first act of this new legislature was a formal declaration of its own self-esteem, which began with the paradox that although the colony of St. Domingo constituted an integral part of France, it yet possessed the right of originating its own laws. Though by the construction of this assembly its acts to have validity needed the concurrence of the governor general, it carried its pretensions so far that, like the National Assembly which it took for its model, it declared its own assent sufficient for all purposes of legality, and acknowledged no limit to its power but that of the king alone.

While this legislation was in progress the National Assembly itself had been occupied with discussions on the subject of the colonies, and on the 8th of March they resulted in a decree which was to spread a flame of indignation and alarm throughout the colony of St. Domingo. Legislating in the dark, and ignorant of what would be adapted to the nature of things in the colony, the decree was made the basis of a new arrangement of things to

govern the progress of the colony with all its peculiar interests, and was yet couched in terms so vague and uncertain, as to encourage all classes to aspire to a share in the government; as if the population of St. Domingo was in all respects the same as that of the towns in France. The right was granted to the colony to frame a constitution to suit its own wants, with no check on its power and virtual independence but that of the king's signature to the laws it enacted. The delegates of the mulattoes who were in Paris were unremitted in their exertions, and rallied all their friends, the amis des noirs, to aid them, that an acknowledgment of the political rights of their caste should be expressed or implied in this instrument, which was to govern the future well being of the colony. They were gratified by the concessions of the Assembly, though they were to operate in their favor but by the silence in which the subject of their political condition was hurried over in the body of the enactment. The Assembly dared not to frame a distinction in the classes of the colony, and the subject of color was studiously excluded from the language of the decree. It was expressed in the fourth article, "that after the proclamation of the law, every person of twenty-five years or upwards, who was the proprietor of real estate, or in fault of that, who had been a resident in the place for two years, and who had been taxed for the support of the colony, should assemble for the purpose of electing members to the colonial assembly." This clumsy law was evidently framed for the government of any population but that of St. Domingo, and even in the assembly where it had its origin it seems not to have been duly understood. The members from St. Domingo demanded if its intent was to operate the particular exclusion of the mulattoes from all participation in the government, according to the wishes of their constituency. Regnier and Dillon sustained the negative, and maintained the equality of mulattoes with whites, by reasons drawn from nature and the maxims which then formed the rule to guide the legislation of France; and the Abbé Gregoire stated it to be the particular intention of that body that no suspicion should arise that men of color had not rights which were undenied and undeniable. In such a population as that

of St. Domingo, to base the right of suffrage on any other foundation than that of property, whatever might be the complexion of its owner, was to give a constitutional right to anarchy, and bestow a free license on every reckless and evil spirit to spread disorder and cruelty through every parish of the colony.

When tidings of this decree reached the island no bounds could restrain the indignation of the colonists; and they declared that they would sooner perish in one universal calamity than partake of their privileges with a bastard and degenerate race. Execrations were poured out against the National Assembly, which were both loud and deep. The lives of French residents in the island were in danger, and threats were openly made to confiscate French property.

This decree rendered a new election necessary, to model the colonial assembly to a form more suited to its principles. The governor general, who had viewed with jealousy and amazement the eccentric legislation of the general assembly of St. Marks, considered the present a good opportunity to dissolve it. He issued his commands for a new election, to be conducted according to the principles acknowledged in the decree; but the popular outcry, so universal and so fierce both against the decree and the pretensions of the mulattoes, was successful in excluding that race entirely from the elections. The same members were again returned, who, proud of the confidence reposed in their wisdom, proceeded immediately to the work of framing a new constitution for St. Domingo: a labor which was completed and brought forward to the public on the 28th of May. After premising a declaration that the sole right to make a constitution, which was to establish the future political condition of the colony, resided in itself, and that it would delegate it to no other, the assembly laid down for a basis, that the legislative power of St. Domingo should in future reside in an assembly which was to be called the General Assembly of the French part of St. Domingo, and which was to be invested with full power to make all laws and regulations to govern the colony. These were to be submitted to the governor general for his sanction, and in case of his refusing his assent to them, they were to become laws nevertheless.

by the subsequent concurrence of two thirds of the legislative body. These would seem reasonable enactments, and not to be gainsayed or resisted. But a few of the members of the assembly at this stage of the proceedings refused to participate in such legislation, and deemed it no better than downright rebellion. Nothing daunted at this occurrence, the assembly went on with its deliberations, and formed its committees of war, marine and external relations, and even summoned the governor general and intendant of the colony to the bar of their hall of session. To this high handed legislation Count Peinier showed a submission bordering on weakness; and when the assembly went into a long discussion as to the manner of receiving him, the governor sent word that any place would do for him if he could in any way coöperate with them in the regeneration of the colony. To compromise between its dislike of the obnoxious article in the decree of the National Assembly, and its desire to yield a form of obedience to its mandates, the assembly of St. Marks voted an adherence to that decree, so far as it did not prove incompatible with its own act of the 23th of May.

After the decree of the National Assembly had been despatched officially to the authorities of St. Domingo, intelligence arrived at Paris of the disturbances and universal disorder that were then agitating that island. It was made known at the same time that the island of Martinique was also on the brink of a revolution. Alarmed for the consequences of the unwise legislation for the colonies, the National Assembly hastened to retrace its steps, and for a moment the opinions of the amis des noirs fell into bad estimation. A set of instructions was passed, designed to explain the intention of the Assembly in its decree of the 8th of March. By these instructions it was expressed, "that the Assembly never had the design to comprehend the colonies in the constitution which it had decreed for the regulation of the kingdom, nor to subject them to laws which would be incompatible with their peculiar situation. The colonies were consequently authorized and invited to make known to the National Assembly their wishes as to the particular constitution, legislation and administration which would most advance their prosperity." It was added likewise, "that the Na-

tional Assembly wished to innovate in nothing, whether directly or indirectly, in relation to the colonies."

This new decree gave rise to discontent and agitation among the mulattoes, and more particularly in the ranks of the fanatic *amis des noirs*. The latter considered the tergiversation of the National Assembly as unworthy of it, and the new instructions as a tacit consent to continuance of the slave trade. They maintained that by this act the West India colonies were set free from all allegiance to France when they were thus to have full permission to frame their own government according to their own wishes and interests.

Although the governor general had yielded to the peremptory commands of the assembly of St. Marks with such apparent complacency, he still felt that his power and office were insulted and made void through the proud attitude assumed by that body. In the allegiance he felt to the duties of his situation, he dreaded the growing assumptions of a rival authority, which already eclipsed his own. He labored incessantly to arouse against it the jealousy of the provincial assemblies, whose importance was also cast in the shade by the lofty pretensions of this new legislature. He listened with condescension to the complaints of the mulattoes, who were restless under the contempt shown to their rights, and dreaded even the ominous leniency of their opponents in the affair of Verrettes. The troops at Port au Prince were also flattered into friendship, and white cockades were distributed among a corps of volunteers, who were instructed to make a firm stand for the administration and the laws.

In the accomplishment of these plans the governor general found a valuable aid in the Chevalier Mauduit, who had lately arrived in the colony to take command of the regiment of Port au Prince. He was a man of a bold firmness of character, of an active disposition, and a veteran soldier. Count Peinier took him immediately into his most intimate counsels, and his enterprising character soon made his influence great with the governor. The aim of their policy was to put down the insolence of the assembly of St. Marks, and array the mulattoes on the side of government against the dangerous designs of the patriots.

The provincial assembly of the north had never looked upon that of St. Marks with a complacent eye. The former numbered among its members more of the aristocracy of the colony, who disliked too much the erratic course of legislation in France to favor the imitation of it in St. Domingo. Nothing was then done by half measures, and the slightest difference in opinion was sure to be followed by deep and wide disagreement in action. An accident enkindled to a flame the sparks of discord between the rival assemblies. A law had been past by the assembly of St. Marks to limit the exactions of merchants and lawyers. This was taken by the assembly of Cape Francois as a direct attack upon the interests and dignity of that body, many of whose members were of those two professions. An open rupture between the two assemblies was the immediate consequence, and that of the Cape passed an act of denunciation against the new constitution, the principles of which were accused of a direct assumption of independence.

The assembly of St. Marks felt alarmed at the enmity of so powerful a body as that of the Cape, and despatched a deputation of its members to attempt a reconciliation. This was an acknowledgment of the consequence of the assembly to be solicited which was too precious to be overlooked, and the deputies, so far from succeeding in their mission, were ordered to leave Cape Francois within twenty-four hours. The breach was now wide and irreparable; and amid usurpations on the one hand, and rivalry and jealousy on the other, these two assemblies warred against each other with bitterness and rancor; exerting themselves to accomplish each other's destruction, without bestowing a thought upon the anarchy which like a demon of evil stood ready to strangle and devour the future hopes of the colony. Every act was dictated by the headlong passion of the moment, and in this fierce embroilment the appalling dangers of the future were entirely unseen, or if seen, were disregarded. The governor general, yielding to his hatred of the assembly of St. Marks, became immediately reconciled to that of Cape Francois. The powers of the latter were mere usurpations. From an insignificant municipality it had, in the universal rage for legislation, assumed to itself the

authority of an omnipotent parliament, with full powers to regulate the army, finances and internal police of its province. The assembly of St. Marks, more legitimate in its formation, and feeling strong in the support of its constituency, passed a decree denouncing the members of the provincial assembly of the north and their abettors as traitors to the country. It declared the ports of St. Domingo open to all nations, ordered that the colonial regiment of Port au Prince should be disbanded, and its officers and troops were reorganized and called to rally to the support of the assembly. A detachment of this regiment had already been seduced to abandon its colors, and had been formed into a national guard, of which the marquis de Cadusch was made colonel. The remainder of the regiment, which refused to be disbanded out of fidelity to the governor general and its colonel, the chevalier Mauduit, was ordered to be imprisoned, and soon as possible transported to France. But this majority of the regiment would not be imprisoned or transported, and put itself under the protection of the governor general. The provincial assembly of Port au Prince was an ally of the assembly of St. Marks, and by its violence and recklessness interfered much with the plans or the repose of the governor general. The latter resolved to listen to the counsel of colonel Mauduit and obtain its dissolution. This could not be done peaceably, and the military were put in requisition to effect its accomplishment. On the night of the 19th of July the guard of the arsenal was reinforced, and colonel Mauduit put himself at the head of a detachment composed of the grenadiers of his regiment and a party of the governor's new volunteers, and proceeded to the place where the provincial assembly held its sittings. The movement had not been sufficiently secret. An armed crowd was found thronging the passages which led to the hall of the assembly, and murmuring defiance. To disperse them martial law was proclaimed, but without any effect. A leader among the crowd cried out to his companions to fire—a suggestion that was but too readily obeyed, and fifteen soldiers fell dead at the feet of their commander. This aroused the fury of the troops, and they rushed on the multitude with their bayonets. The demagogue who had given the order to fire

and two others were killed. The remainder escaped, with the exception of forty persons who were taken prisoners; among whom, however, there was found but one member of the assembly. The rest were already collected in another place and assembled around their president.

The timidity of count Peinier was already alarmed at what had been done, and to make all reparation in his power to the indignant spirit of the people, he ordered the prisoners to be set at liberty. But the conduct of colonel Mauduit drew down a torrent of hatred upon the head of that officer. Regardless of the sensitiveness of the time, he carried to his house the colors of the national guard of Port au Prince, which had been taken in the skirmish, and laid them up as trophies of the victory which had been gained over those who, after all, were but mere political opponents.

Having by this means rid himself of the enemies immediately around him, the governor general now began in earnest to second the hostilities carried on by the assembly of Cape Francois against that of St. Marks. The former had not only denounced the projected constitution, which had been decreed by its rival, as incompatible with the continuance of St. Domingo as a colony of France, but to omit no demonstration of its sincerity in its opinions, it had ordered that the military forces of the Cape under M. de Vincent should march immediately on St. Marks, to compel a dissolution of the assembly sitting in that place. To coöperate with this movement the governor general ordered colonel Mauduit to march with his regiment from Port au Prince, and in case of obstinacy or resistance in the assembly, to invest the town of St. Marks. Amid these ominous proceedings, reciprocal insults and accusations were hurled to and fro between the belligerent parties, and made the preludes of a civil war. The report was propagated from mouth to mouth that the colony had been sold to England by the assembly of St. Marks, for the sum of forty millions of pounds. The latter assembly denounced its adversaries as counter-revolutionists, and marked out as an object of its dearest vengeance the chevalier Mauduit, whom it accused of distrusting Frenchmen, and of soliciting the governor of Cuba for a reinforcement of Spaniards to assist him in

his high-handed attempts. Nor were official proclamations from the governor general wanting in this wild uproar of contending interests. These bore for the burden of their complaints that the assembly of St. Marks had exceeded its powers, and that its dissolution had become necessary for the peace and safety of the colony. Perhaps the assembly had acted with personal innocence even in those acts the tone of which was so obnoxious, for in the fervor of its heated enthusiasm it was a task to restrain itself to the cooler calculations of a *rational* legislation.

Against this array of hostility advancing on them from all quarters, the members of the assembly of St. Marks had no hope but in the support of that class of politicians whose doctrines were extreme. These had ever been the most noisy declaimers for its purity and patriotism, and they were now called to rally to the defence of their favorite, by a proclamation eminently characteristic of the artificial and inflammatory style then in vogue. "In the name," says this pithy address, "of the French nation, of the laws, of the king, and of the French part of St. Domingo in peril,—Union, force, celerity, courage—the infamous Peinier, the accursed Mauduit, have accomplished their execrable projects—they have steeped their hands in the blood of citizens—to arms—the rallying points are St. Marks for the north and the adjacent parishes—the Cul de Sac for Mirebalais—Leogane for the South."

These double appeals and reciprocal denunciations sowed division throughout the colony. The struggles of party violence tore the tranquillity of every place, and members of the same family were arrayed in deadly hostility against each other. The supineness and indolence of the creole character had wholly disappeared under the goadings of party excitement, and a certain fierceness of opinion and action, like a universal malady, affected all. The governor general had on his side the retainers of government both military and civil, the free people of color, the judicial bodies, and what was a host, the earnest determination of the assembly of the Cape. The assembly of St. Marks had for its support the municipalities of the larger towns, a majority of the smaller planters, the provincial assemblies of Port au Prince and of

the south, and the revolutionary spirit of the *petits blancs*. But with all its exertions to meet this emergency of its fortunes, the assembly was struck with dismay at the approach of its assailants, when it compared the superior force of the enemy with the scanty number of its own troops which were in garrison at St. Marks. But hope often beams through the dreariest aspect of things, and just as it was ready to give up all in despair the assembly was encouraged to fresh effort by the timely arrival of unexpected succors. This was the French vessel of war *Leopard*, the crew of which, during the absence of its commander ashore, had been gained over to their opinions by the patriots of Port au Prince, and when the captain had been ordered aboard to take the command of his ship he dared not obey the order in the then mutinous state of the crew. But the marquis of Santo Domingo, who was the second in command, with less scrupulousness, readily consented to succeed his superior officer in the duties of the command. Dreading the wrong bent of this naval force the governor general had ordered the vessel to sea, and as it seemed in no hurry to depart, the forts in the harbor of Port au Prince were ordered to open a fire upon it, and it sailed for St. Marks. The regenerated crew sent their commander to offer their allegiance to the assembly; but with more than usual caution, while they promised to shed the last drop of their blood in its defence, they added the proviso that they could not reconcile it to their consciences to act on the offensive against its enemies. This unexpected declaration, and the summons of the enemy who was already at their gates, threw the assembly into new consternation. To fight was hopeless, and to surrender themselves up to the governor general and the provincial assembly of the north, was to compromise their dignity, as well as run much risk for their personal safety. In this dilemma it was proposed to embark aboard the *Leopard*, and go to implore the justice of the National Assembly of France. The motion was hailed with enthusiasm, and a decree was immediately passed making it infamous not to embark. They then proceeded aboard in a body, and this *Areopagus* afloat sailed immediately for France, to the utter amazement of the enemy, who were left gazing after

them as they sailed slowly out of the harbor. This conduct marks the earnestness of their enthusiasm, when it is recollected that most of them were men of wealth and of an advanced age, who separated themselves from their families and property to go without preparation to carry their complaints to a distant country. Their number had been greatly reduced by sickness and desertion, but of their original number eighty-five embarked, and sixty-four of them were heads of families.

The adherents of the assembly had already responded to its spirit-stirring appeal before they knew the extraordinary affair of its flight. The patriots of the south showed the most promptitude. A confederation had been formed which embraced the whole extent of the south, with the single exception of Jeremie. While its members were arranging the preliminaries of the contemplated movement, and devoting themselves to the support of their favorite assembly, by oaths of allegiance and promises of fidelity unto death, an occurrence was brought on which strongly marks the character of the association. Certain anonymous letters had been intercepted addressed to M. Codere, a respectable inhabitant of Aux Cayes, in which boasting mention was made of the enterprise of M. Maudit against the provincial assembly of Port au Prince. In the excitement of the time this was sufficient to draw down the vengeance of the people on M. Codere, who had been already accused of being an advocate of the mulattoes. An infuriate mob run to his house, tore him from the arms of his family, heaped upon him the most studied insults, and dragging him to the Place d'Armes immediately beheaded him, and marched in civic triumph with the head of their victim paraded in front of their procession.

The colonial government was so crippled in its power by the universal license of the time, as to see itself compelled to dissimulate its indignation against the authors of this tragedy; and so far from being able to bring them to speedy and severe justice, it was driven in the helplessness of its condition to send commissioners of peace to what was called the confederated army of Leogane. These were instructed to neglect no means to bring about the dispersion of the malcontents, and accomplish a recon-

ciliation between them and the government. To this end they urged the uselessness of further hostility, when the assembly, in whose support the insurgents had taken up arms, had in so strange a manner departed from the country. These representations were successful. The insurgents saw the unreasonableness of their present hostile attitude, when there was no object to be gained, and they manifested a desire for an accommodation. A treaty was concluded, in which it was stipulated that both parties should suspend all farther hostilities till the decision of the National Assembly in the case of the expatriated legislators should be known in the colony, and both sides pledged themselves to be governed by that decision. The government thus succeeded for a season in laying the storm that was threatening to overwhelm it.

Both the governor general and the friends of the assembly of St. Marks were now busy in hastening the departure of commissioners to the National Assembly, both parties to defend their own conduct in that affair, and to denounce that of their opponents. In some fear that his decision would meet with little favor in such a body as the Assembly of the Revolution, count Peinier sought to conciliate the friendship of those whose hatred had been so augmented against him by his success, and to attain this end he issued a proclamation for a new election. But the angry malcontents who composed the bulk of the primary assemblies, not only would not assemble to elect a new legislature, but loudly protested against the right of any other body of men than the assembly of St. Marks to make laws for the colony. Others pursued another course not less decided and obstinate—these assembled themselves in obedience to the governor's proclamation, but it was for the sole purpose of re-electing the absent members of the assembly of St. Marks. The governor general was completely defeated in his attempts at reconciliation, and in consequence of their success over him the malcontents gained an accession of strength to their party.

The patriots were every where triumphant, and the colonial government was nearly annihilated, its authority scarcely extending beyond the walls of the government house. Even the provincial assembly of Cape Francois,

its recent ally, no longer granted it any preeminence in power. A government to be durable and efficient must procure obedience through the agency of confidence in its designs and capacity, or of terror from its unmitigated despotism. Alternate passion and weakness in attempting to control excited multitudes must necessarily fail. The governor general thought to regain his influence by making his power felt, and the principal agents and supporters of the assembly of St. Marks were delivered over separately to the justice of the Conseil Supérieur of Port au Prince; a court which was in direct subservience to the government. The severity of its judgments, instead of exciting a salutary fear, only served to rouse a virulent and wide-spread indignation. Twenty-seven soldiers of the garrison of St. Marks were condemned to be hung for contumacy. The marquis of Borel was sentenced to be shot, though as a member of a legislative body he could not be legally tried by a court-martial. In consequence of this ill-timed rigor, the hatred of the patriots against the government was redoubled, and discontent and panic were every where prevalent. Many of the more timid and prudent gathered together their effects and quitted the island; and this was the first emigration though the least tragic that took place from that unhappy country.

A more systematic anarchy was at this epoch the only government of the colony. An independent and self-constituted legislature existed in every province, and was the arena where petty ambition strove against itself, or with more unanimity in its hatred, exerted itself against the legitimate authority of the colonial government. While the whites were thus employed in undermining their own hope of future safety, a new occurrence came to arrest for a moment their suicidal phrenzy, and point them to the abyss of horror which was opening in the future. One of the agents then maintained by the mulattoes of St. Domingo to assert their rights before the National Assembly, tired and desperate with his useless exertions to procure an improvement in the political condition of his race, resolved to return to his country and establish his rights with arms in his hands. He was encouraged in his enterprise by the society of amis des

noirs, who to forward him in the accomplishment of his plans had procured him the grade of colonel in the armies of one of the Electors of Germany. But no arms could be sent from the ports of France to St. Domingo, without encountering certain detection by the colonial members of the National Assembly, or the agents of the French government. In this dilemma Ojé passed over to England to embark from thence to the United States, but he was discovered in the former country by a member of the Massaic Club, M. Guiton. The latter wrote immediately to the colony, giving information of Ojé, and the tidings of his meditated attempt arrived at St. Domingo long before its author. Vincent Ojé was a quateroon of a little more than thirty years of age, and the son of a rich butcher of Cape Francois. His mother was the proprietor of a coffee plantation, and lived with opulence in Paris. Ojé set off from London furnished with money to purchase arms and munitions in the United States; and notwithstanding an order from the minister of marine, which forbade the landing of any mulattoes in the ports of the island, he arrived in safety at Cape Francois on the 23d of October, disguised under the assumed name of Poissac. He was received with secret enthusiasm by his friends, and through their assistance arrived safely at Dondon his native place. Here he proclaimed himself to those of his color as one who had arrived to assert their rights, and direct them in the way to political enfranchisement. Depending too much upon the unanimity of the mulattoes, and counting too much upon the dissensions of the whites, Ojé did not wait to mature his plans and bring about the general coöperation of those of his color, but putting himself at the head of two hundred mounted men, he marched immediately on Grande Riviere, and took up a position at a place about fifteen miles from Cape Francois. Among the first of his adventures here Ojé made prisoners of two dragoons, who were the bearers of despatches relating to his own capture. "I might put you to death," said the mulatto chieftain, "but I have pity on your youth, and I offer you a safe passport to the Cape on condition that you carry these two letters thither." These letters were directed to count Peinier, the governor general, and contained a peremptory demand, that the first

decree of the National Assembly relating to St. Domingo should be carried into immediate effect, and that the mulattoes of the colony be invested with all their natural and political rights. It was particularly disclaimed that any rights but those of the mulattoes were included within the limits of the demand in question,—“this,” says Ojé, “being unworthy of me.” But the rights of his particular race he expressed himself as determined to establish, and speaking of the whites of the colony, whose pride would not allow them to partake of privileges with a race that was degraded, he asks, “if the nobles and clergy of France had been consulted, when the thousand abuses of their power had been redressed and annihilated?” After this daring commencement Ojé felt that the Rubicon of his destiny was passed, and he put forth all his energies to meet the crisis. Though an enthusiast if not a fanatic in his opinions, he has been represented as a man of mildness, while his brothers and the other leaders in his ranks were of a temperament quite the reverse, who hesitated at no means to bring about the accomplishment of the project they had so imprudently set on foot. When a mulatto planter of the mountains, in consideration of the dangers to be incurred in so hazardous an enterprise, hesitated to join their standard, and pointed to his wife and family in extenuation of his apparent lukewarmness, the unrelenting chiefs with an intemperate and ill-timed cruelty massacred both him and his family on the spot.

The most vigorous measures were immediately concerted to put down this revolt. M. de Vincent was sent with six hundred troops to attack the post of Ojé. The forces of the latter amounted to but three hundred men, but these were wrought up to a wild and determined enthusiasm, and fought to succeed or perish. M. de Vincent had not calculated on such resistance, and was beaten back. A detachment of twelve hundred men, with a train of artillery, was next despatched from Cape Francois, under the command of Col. Cambefort. The mulattoes could not make head against this overwhelming force, and were obliged to fall back from post to post, and finally to disperse, Ojé and his second in command, Chavanne, together with many other leaders in the enterprise, taking refuge in the Spanish territory. Not to lose time or

hazard the risk of a refusal, the provincial assembly of the Cape assumed to itself the powers of the government, and despatched from that port the corvette Favorite, to proceed without delay to the city of Santo Domingo and demand the fugitives of the Spanish governor, in virtue of a standing treaty between the two nations for the mutual delivery of all runaway slaves and refugees from justice. The Spanish governor gave up Ojé and his companions without hesitation when they were demanded by the captain of the corvette, and they were brought to the Cape for their trial.

Mean time, encouraged by the example and exhortations of Ogé, the mulattoes of the south were now in arms, and rallying at Verrettes and Aux Cayes. Colonel Mauduit was ordered to proceed with his regiment to Verrettes, while the governor in person went to Aux Cayes. Mauduit had a conference instead of a battle, and at his instance, and influenced no doubt by the ill success of Ojé, the mulattoes abandoned their hostile attitude. The governor general held an interview with Rigaud, the mulatto chieftain of Aux Cayes, and with him also a reconciliation was effected. This distinguished mulatto had been the first to express his indignation at the insulting qualification which permitted those of his color to take the civic oath only on the odious condition of a stipulated respect for the whites. After the first revolt at Verrettes he was among those who had been imprisoned by the authorities, and afterward set at liberty by the governor general.

These successful negotiations between the mulattoes and the colonial government obtained for the latter no popularity with the patriots, who, enraged at the attempt of Ojé, were in no humor to treat with those whom they considered as little better than revolted slaves. The governor and Col. Mauduit were now openly accused of being the avowed friends of the mulattoes. It is still unknown what were the means used by the governor to allay the discontent of the mulattoes : but the petits blancs accused him of having counselled the insurgents not to abandon their enterprise, but only to defer it to some more favorable moment, assuring them that the king himself and all the friends of order in France were secretly

attached to their cause, and that their assistance might be relied on when the time had arrived to secure their rights. Disgusted and wearied with his unenviable office, and in despair of better times, count Peinier now gave up the command to M. Blanchelande, who had just arrived as his lieutenant in power, and sailed for France, where he saw the necessity of breasting the storm which his enemies had raised against him in the National Assembly, and which, as was the case with many a man virtuous as he, soon brought his career to a termination upon the scaffold.

The mulattoes awaited in the deep silence of anxiety and fear the issue of the trial of Ojé, and their suspense was destined to be long. The Conseil Supérieur of Cape Francois which was the tribunal selected to try the criminal, had been, in obedience to an ancient form, instructed to hold its sittings in secret; and it had been reinforced, in this important emergency, by an addition to its members from the provincial assembly of the north. The hatred of the petits blancs against the mulattoes was now at its height, and was daily bursting forth in a thousand acts of insult and outrage. At last the trial was closed, after a tedious interval of anxiety and suspense, which had continued for two months. The court convicted Vincent Ojé and Jean Baptiste Chavanne of the intent to cause an insurrection of the people of color, and it condemned them to be conducted by the public executioner to the church of Cape Francois, and there, bareheaded, and *en chemise*, with a rope about their necks—upon their knees, and holding in their hands a wax candle of two pounds weight, to declare that they had wickedly, rashly, and by evil instigation, committed the crimes of which they had been accused and convicted; that then and there they repented of them, and asked forgiveness of God, of the king, and the violated justice of the realm; that they should then be conducted to the Place d'Armes of the said town, and in the place opposite to that appropriated to the execution of white men, and have their arms, legs, thighs and hips broken alive; that they should be placed upon a wheel, with their faces toward heaven, and there remain so long as God should preserve their lives. After their death their heads were

to be severed from their bodies, and placed upon poles—that of Ojé on the road to Dondon, and that of Chavanne on the road to Grande Riviere, and the property of both to be confiscated to the king.*

Chavanne died as he had lived—the stern, unyielding enemy of the whites; but Ojé in that terrible moment lost all his firmness. He implored the pity of his judges, and offered to reveal important secrets if they would spare his life. Twenty-four hours were granted him, but not much importance being attached to his communications, he was ordered back to his punishment. Twenty-one of the associates of Ojé, among whom was his brother, were condemned to be hung, and thirteen others were sent to the galleys for life—the rest were pardoned.

Murders committed in the name of justice convert the malefactor into a martyr of liberty. Though the insurrection of Ojé was ill timed and rash, and his death that of the most degraded criminal, his name and sufferings have ever been hallowed in the memory of his race, and the martyrdom of Ojé was ever afterward the rallying signal to encourage and unite the mulattoes in deadly hostility against the whites. By this barbarous massacre the breach between these two races was made irreconcilable and eternal. However they were united by the sympathy of relationship or the ties of interest and property, all these bands were sundered by a hatred that was deep, rankling and inexpiable. Nor was this all the evil that resulted to the colony from this most impolitic execution. Intelligence of it soon reached Paris, and spread astonishment and horror at the barbarity of creole vengeance. The amis des noirs redoubled their exertions to give a coloring to the transaction, which would arouse the National Assembly and the whole French people against the enormities of the West-India creoles. The death of Ojé was dramatised, and its representation in the theatres of Paris poured indignant fury into the bosoms of an excitable population. All these agencies were industriously kept in play, and had their effect in the subsequent legislation of the National Assembly in relation to the colonies.

On the 13th of September the members of the assem-

bly of St. Marks arrived at Brest, and were received there with the loudest demonstrations of applause and gratitude. But a very different reception awaited them in Paris. The commissioners of the governor general and of the provincial assembly of Cape Francois had already arrived, and had urged their defence and accusations at the bar of the National Assembly; cautioning it against approving the acts of a body which scorned a dependence on France, and whose legislation had spread disorder and misrule throughout the colony. The National Assembly denied the emigrant legislators a hearing at the bar, and would give no ear to its protestations of innocence. At length Barrave, the chairman of the committee on the colonies, brought in his report, censuring the whole course of legislation pursued by the assembly of St. Marks, from its original formation to its voluntary abdication of power. The report ended with the statement, "that all the pretended decrees and acts of the assembly of St. Marks were abolished and declared void; that the assembly was dissolved, and that its members were incapacitated from ever becoming members of any future legislative body in the colony of St. Domingo." This report was adopted by the National Assembly, and it was likewise decreed, "that the provincial assembly of Cape Francois, the troops of the line, the volunteers of Port au Prince, the governor general, M. Vincent and M. Mauduit, had done their duty faithfully, and all deserved the thanks of the nation." The king was besought to issue his commands for a new election in St. Domingo, which was to be conducted conformably to the decrees of the National Assembly of the 8th and 28th of March.

The partizans of the assembly of St. Marks were struck dumb at this decision, and although the colonial government, in the triumph of its success hastened to make known the orders of the king for the convocation of another legislature, they obstinately refused to attend the primary meetings till a final decision had been made on the fate of the members of the old assembly of St. Marks, who were held in arrest till the farther pleasure of the National Assembly should be made known.

After M. Blanchelande had issued his proclamation for holding again the primary assemblies of the people, a new

difficulty arose in regard to the qualifications held necessary in the electors. The great proprietors saw with dismay that the *petits blancs*, or patriots, would constitute the majority if the election were conducted on the principles embodied in the late decree; and all classes of whites looked with indignation on the privileges granted by the same decree to the mulattoes. Amid the exertions put forth by the two parties of whites to increase their respective political importance in the coming election, a new occurrence came to reinforce the power of the *petits blancs*, and add another to the victims of revolutionary disorder.

The National Assembly had requested the king to despatch immediately to St. Domingo two ships of the line, and a body of troops sufficient to maintain order in that colony. The patriots of Port au Prince resolved to improve this opportunity to increase the numerical strength by gaining over to their opinions this armament of land and naval forces. The project, though designed as a secret, was not, however, concealed with sufficient security, and M. Blanchelande, as a measure of precaution, despatched a corvette from Port au Prince to meet the expected armament, and order it into the Mole St. Nicholas. The corvette did not fall in with the fleet, and the latter arrived in a short time at Port au Prince. There was an immediate gathering from all quarters, to act on the allegiance of this reinforcement. Every effort was made by blandishment and misrepresentation to gain it over to the purposes of the patriots, and it was crowned with a success which was complete. Filled with the enthusiasm of the revolution, and the exalted sentiments about liberty and equality which were then in vogue, the heads of the sailors and soldiers of the fleet were completely turned, and their habits of mechanical obedience were changed to suspicion of their officers, and a hatred of all legitimate authority. It is difficult to keep pace with the rabble when in a state of irritated excitement. All this had been effected before the governor general could arrive aboard to command a new destination to the squadron. His orders were made a subject of argument within his own presence, and the new-born patriots openly refused to obey him. It was in vain that he represented to them

that no provision had been made in Port au Prince for their subsistence: that its air was death to Europeans, and that the Mole St. Nicholas was healthy, and well provisioned. During the whole time of the conference men were seen gliding from the sides of the vessels into little boats that were hovering around to convey them to the town. Five hundred of them were already landed, and every house and cellar were thrown open to these new comers, who were hailed as the liberators, who had arrived to save the oppressed inhabitants of Port au Prince from being crushed under the yoke of the ancient regime. Every moment now became big with terror, and every thing announced hostility to those whom the public voice condemned. The chevalier Mauduit had never been forgiven for his attack on the defenders of the provincial assembly, and for making a trophy of the colors of the national guard; and this officer had the most to dread from the vengeance of the mob. When night came on the town was illuminated—the soldiers were welcomed to every house and feasted with the luxuries of the tropics; while the murmuring sound of preparations and secret consultations in the streets announced, like the dread noise of an approaching tornado, the storm of popular wrath which was about to burst on the town. A riotous deputation of sailors and soldiers presented itself in the evening at the palace of the governor general, and insolently demanded of that functionary his intentions in wishing to send them to the Mole. M. Blanchelande condescended so far as to show his orders to that effect from the minister of marine. The mutineers departed with apparent satisfaction, and the governor general, with the utmost extreme of imprudence allowed them three days to refresh themselves before reembarking. Meantime the taverns and coffee-houses were thrown open to the troops, without money and without price. The fidelity of the regiment of Port au Prince was next attacked, and finding itself neglected amid the universal hilarity and rejoicing, that regiment, to secure its portion of festive joy, went over to the sedition which was aimed directly at the life of its commander.

The provincial assembly of Port au Prince recommenced its sittings amid the universal saturnalia, and took

upon itself the name of the New Municipality. Fearful outcries now began to be heard at intervals, of "*Perish the traitor! To the lamp-post with the aristocrat!*" A mob was soon gathered; it rushed to the prisons. Rigaud, the mulatto chieftain of the south, who was then in confinement, was set at liberty by those who were his professed enemies, a multitude of other prisoners were liberated, and borne in triumph to the church, where, in the wild intoxication of the moment *Te Deum* was chanted. Tumultuous cries were now heard, demanding the immediate disbandment of the governor's volunteers, and the re-establishment of the national guard. Completely subdued without striking a blow, the governor general yielded to these demands, and thus put arms in the hands of the worst enemies of his government. The chevalier Mauduit was not insensible to the danger of the moment. With his usual promptitude he urged the governor general to retire from the town till some check could be put to the farther progress of the insurrection. But the excesses of a mob are not abated by the retreat of the constituted authorities. The agitation now became unbridled and menacing. One man alone seemed the object of their concentrated hatred, and this man was Mauduit. At length the rioters arrived at his house, and entering it they dragged their victim to the very place where he had formerly dispersed the defenders of the provincial assembly and carried off his inauspicious spoils. Here they summoned him to fall upon his knees and confess his crime. The haughty veteran rejected it with disdain, and bared his bosom to his murderers. He instantly fell pierced with a thousand blows, and died with looks of unutterable scorn toward the assassins. They outraged the dead body; and by this act added three other murders to their catalogue of crimes. These other victims to their rage were two officers of the regiment of Port au Prince, and a sergeant of the regiment of Normandy, who attempted to save the dead body of their commander from the cowardice of farther outrage. The head was borne aloft on a bayonette, and the bloody members were dragged along the streets of the town. Many of that sex who become furies when actuated by the violence of passions not their own, were seen in the ranks

of this horrible procession. Among them was a woman of color, who held the feet of the dead body while the head was severed from the trunk. In the overflowings of their ferocious joy a second *Te Deum* was sung, to thank the Supreme Being for the glorious revolution just achieved.*

This revolution was complete. M. Blanchelande, deserted by those who should have spent their lives to sustain his government, was obliged to abandon his capital to the power of the rebels. He fled to Cape Francois, and threw himself into the arms of the provincial assembly of the north. The powers of the governor general were usurped in Port au Prince by the marquis de Caredeux, under the title of captain general of the national guard. The provincial assembly was changed in its name to the municipality, and a Maltese sailor named Praloto, who had deserted, was made inspector of fortifications and commander of the citizen artillery. The parishes around Port au Prince sent members to the new municipality, which began the exercise of its high functions by annihilating the office of intendant. Each of these new functionaries emulated the others in denouncing the government of M. Blanchelande, and all were loud in their execrations of the memory of the chevalier Mauduit. The mulattoes seemed the only class who manifested any regret for his tragical end. A negro named Pierre, one of his domestics, went round by night and collected the scattered limbs of his master, and watered them with his tears. He buried them sorrowfully in a grave, and raised upon the spot a simple mound to mark the place of his master's burial, and perpetuate the memory of his own fidelity. The leaders in the late insurrection felt uneasy for the consequences of their daring conduct, and a mission was despatched in all haste to excuse the proceeding at the bar of the National Assembly, by denouncing colonel Mauduit for designs against the revolution—a crime which had now become so grave in the judgment of that assembly as to place the person committing it beyond the pale of human mercy or common justice.

The superior respect which legal authority ever commands over usurpation, had its usual influence at this

* Lacroix.

epoch with the population in the north of the colony. While lawlessness and revolution were running riot among the population of Port au Prince, the provincial assembly and inhabitants of Cape Francois rallied around the governor general. They were flattered with the attainment of a hope which they had long cherished, to make their town the residence of the colonial government. When M. Blanchelande entered their walls as a fugitive from his palace, he was received with congratulation, and every form of respect was lavished upon him which the utmost loyalty could bestow. The provincial assembly of the north voted to receive officially, *en depôt*, the colors of the disbanded volunteers of Port au Prince, and notwithstanding a menacing caveat from the new authorities of Port au Prince, a solemn service was celebrated in the church of Cape Francois in honor of colonel Mauduit.

Notwithstanding this zealous fidelity among the inhabitants of Cape Francois, not a day passed away but left behind it some new indication to the governor general, that the firmness of his power had even there vanished before the new illumination. The sceptre of his authority could only be wielded under the shield of the people, and continual foresight became necessary to anticipate the wild phantasies and eccentric movements of the populace, in order to a safe and effectual exertion of even constitutional authority. Only the north retained the form of obedience, and here it was but the form. In the south insubordination and open revolt were every where predominant. The new authorities at Port au Prince, extending their hatred of colonel Mauduit to the regiment he commanded, had compelled it to lay down its arms; and though danger in every appalling shape was starting up in every parish of the colony, this regiment, the services of which might have been so invaluable to the maintenance of order in the country, was sent aboard vessels and ordered back to France. Amid all the varying animosities of party warfare, on one subject the unanimity was perfect. This was the doggedness of creole prejudice when the question was brought up to establish the political rights of the mulattoes. In the enfranchisement of this class of colonists the governor general was driven by distress to place all his hopes of sustaining

himself in power, and of humbling the insolence of those who had rebelled against his government.

The present influence as well as future hopes of the *amis des noirs* had been thrown for a time into the shade, when the decree of the 28th. of March was passed by the National Assembly, to explain the intention of the former decree, passed by that body on the 8th of the same month. But their zeal was not destroyed, and their exertions continued as incessant and untiring as they deemed their object humane, and the attainment of their hopes the depth of policy. The progress of the revolution brought a continual gain to the ranks and influence of that fraternity. Other events came to increase this influence, until the degraded condition of the mulattoes of the colonies came to be considered an abuse which should be redressed without a moment's delay. "Let even the last of our colonies perish," was the exclamation of Robespierre, "rather than sacrifice one iota of our principles." On the 15th of May, 1791, a decree was passed "that all people of color residing in the French colonies and born of free parents were entitled to the same privileges as French citizens, and among others to the right of voting at elections, and to a seat in the provincial and colonial assemblies." The passage of this decree was hailed in France with acclamations of joy—the committee on the colonies ceased from farther labor—and the members of the National Assembly from St. Domingo departed from France. The tidings of this new legislation fell upon the colony of St. Domingo like a deadly blast from the desert. It hushed into silence all the clamors of party contention, and all stood aghast at what they believed was about to bring in its appalling train ruin and universal annihilation.

After the first shock of astonishment had in a degree subsided, an indignation that knew no bounds took its place. The fury of the anarchists was turned into a new channel, and they were with difficulty restrained from murdering every native of Bourdeaux then in the Cape, because that city of France had offered to raise a body of volunteers to assist in carrying into execution the late decree of the National Assembly. Every parish protested against the operation of this decree within its lim-

its, and this was often done in no measured terms. They agreed unanimously to reject the civic oath—they abjured their mother country—and it was proposed to seize upon the French vessels then in the harbors of the island, and to confiscate the property of French merchants. At Gros Morne “they swore by the honor of freemen, and in the presence of the God of armies, at the foot of whose altar they made their invocations, to repel any attempt to carry into execution the obnoxious decree, by arraying force against force, and to perish under the very ruins of their fortunes rather than submit to such encroachments on their rights.” In the south they were in no way behind-hand in the strength of their feeling, or in the fury of their denunciation. “We abjure,” said they, “we curse the bonds that connect us to a mother country, whose perfidy and perjury are daily provoking us to a separation.” Even the governor general, though not averse to enfranchising the mulattoes, was forced along in this tide of public indignation. Not daring to oppose so formidable and fierce a majority, or perhaps desiring to make the present excitement a means to regain his lost authority by joining in the general outcry, he communicated to the provincial assembly of the north a letter which he had just written to the minister of marine, in which he expressed himself determined “to defer carrying the decree into execution within the colony, until the very moment when it should be communicated to him officially.” The mulattoes, not yet recovered from the terror into which they had been thrown by the punishment of Ojé, and overwhelmed by a storm of hatred and jealousy, dared not express their joy at the tidings of their political emancipation, but put on air of studied indifference to the course of things. But a letter written by one of them about this time to his correspondent in France manifests that the tranquillity of his race was not the silence of indifference, nor yet of despair. “The punishment of Ojé,” says he, “has only served to make us more than ever resolved to conquer or perish in the struggle which is to decide the question whether we shall enjoy the rights offered to us by the restorers of French liberty. We have never been guilty of murdering any one, or of intending any one’s death, yet our own blood has been poured out

like water. We could retaliate, but we refrain. The idea that the negroes might take advantage of such hostilities to desolate this beautiful country, is enough to make us renounce the thought." Though there is no direct evidence that the mulattoes were active, or even desirous to excite the blacks to rebellion—and the large proprietors of that class were directly interested in the continuance of slavery—there yet seems no doubt that many of the more worthless portion of them were at this juncture exerting an agency to bring about some commotion, which they thought might terminate to the advantage of their own caste without bringing much danger upon the island. Notwithstanding their apparent indifference to the execution of a decree which was to disenthral them from all their civil disabilities, and the air of contentedness which they assumed when all other spirits were in tumultuous agitation, many of them left the towns to take up their residence in the country, under pretence that a residence there among the great proprietors, who were less disaffected towards them, was more to their comfort and safety than to remain in the towns, where the keen hatred which pursued them made their lives one scene of insult and wretchedness.

All rivalry and political opposition between the towns of Cape Francois and Port au Prince had now disappeared, and the population of both were unanimous in their opposition to the unpopular decree of the National Assembly. A proclamation was issued to form another colonial assembly, and for this time the primary assemblies were thronged. But the late decree of the National Assembly not having been communicated officially to the governor general, the primary assemblies were held conformably to the decree of the 28th of March, in the previous year, which virtually excluded the mulattoes from a part in the elections. Many of the members of the old assembly of St. Marks, who had found their way back to St. Domingo, were elected to the new assembly, which was in a fair way to be composed of those whose hostility against the governor general and the ancient order of things was deep and rankling. The assembly met at Leogane under the presidency of the marquis de Cadusch, on the first of August, 1791, and it took upon itself the name of the

general assembly of the French part of St. Domingo. The turbulent town of Port au Prince sent an invitation, backed by a force of three hundred men, to persuade or compel the assembly to remove its sittings to that capital. But a member, indignant at the insult of using force to guide the movements of a legislative body, urged upon the assembly that they, as the highest power in the state, ought not to be intimidated by this bold attempt, and the vote was obtained to adjourn to Cape Francois. It was considered an object of no little consequence, that by holding its session at Cape Francois the assembly would be more able to overawe the colonial government, as well as to seduce to its interests all the subordinate agents of the executive power.

The petits blancs still maintained their rage at the obnoxious decree, and continued their aggressions on the hated race of mulattoes; and those who had the least interest in the prosperity of the colony showed themselves the most eager to save it from what they affected to think would prove a source of disaster that was to sweep its very existence from the earth. The excitement of the time was studiously increased by vague reports of projected combinations of the mulattoes, who were in turn arousing the slaves to rebellion. Panic came to add to the moving mass of agitation and discontent. Under pretence, or with a real design to watch over the public safety, patrolles were in constant duty, traversing the plantations and penetrating by night into the cabins of the negroes to search for indications of the suspected insurrection. The astonished slave, who had for a long time shamed his betters by continuing in peace to follow the routine of his industry, now sought to learn the causes of this inquietude, and became every day more filled with amazement and an undefined restlessness. The whites might have discovered evidences of an approaching rebellion, but this was not the real source of their anxiety. They had higher game in view, and to counteract the designs and hopes of the mulattoes they were willing to incur the hazard of a servile war. Though they despised the blacks too much to dread the utmost that they could do, yet the outcry was ceaselessly spread that the natural operation of the decree tended to produce discontent and insubordination among

the slaves. The *petits blancs*, in honest zeal to guard against danger, or with a recklessness of purpose truly diabolical, were more than ever lavish of their cruelty to the negroes, and of their insults and outrage towards the mulattoes.

In the course of June and July some insurrectionary movements took place among the slaves about Port au Prince, but by timely exertion they were easily and effectually arrested from farther progress. Upon the agents summary punishment was inflicted, if we may credit an extract from a letter directed to the president of the Massaic club, in Paris. "If any one is wanted with you to cut off heads, I should recommend Gen. Caredeux. He has just beheaded fifty negroes on the plantation Aubry, and that no one should be ignorant of the transaction, he has affixed the heads upon poles set along the hedges in imitation of palm trees." This revolt was checked, and its authors beheaded, but no sagacity was put on the alert to trace the thread which conducted to a wider magazine of explosion, that was soon to rend the colony into atoms. To use the expression of Mirabeau, "the colonists slept upon a Vesuvius, nor were they awaked by the first jets of its eruption."

The long reign of disorder and civil contention had at last awaked a spirit of insubordination among the slaves, and the indications of a wide spread conspiracy might have been evident to any but to those purposely blinded to their own destruction. On the 20th of August an insurrection broke out on the plantation Galiffet, in the plain of the Cape, commenced by an attempt to murder the overseer, M. Mossut. An old negro named Ignace, long exempted from labor and treated with much kindness, had nevertheless been for some time in the secret of the intended rising. The definitive arrangements had been made a few days before, at a meeting of the principal negro chiefs in a wild spot on the plantation Normand. Alive to the superstitions of their race, they began the consultations upon their hazardous enterprise by a sacrifice after the fashion of their original country. A black hog was covered with fetiches, and tricked off in a manner the most fanciful and bizarre, and offered a sacrifice to the all-powerful genius of the negro race. A little of

the blood was drunk, and each one took a few of the bristles to wear next his body as a talisman to shield him from danger by making his body invulnerable. M. Mossut, on the night when the attack was made had just returned from Cape Francois, accompanied by a friend who designed to lodge at his house. When just fallen asleep he was awakened by a noise, and demanding to know what it meant, he received for answer, "it is we, who have come to speak with you." As he was raising the curtains of his bed, two blows of a manchette (a long knife used in cutting cane) rent them in pieces, and the third wounded him in the shoulder and hand. He immediately leaped from the bed and wresting a lance from a negro he encountered in the passage, hurled the assassins into the gallery of the house. The negroes, astonished at such resistance, were dismayed, and fled into the surrounding darkness. M. Mossut ran to the apartment of his friend, awoke him, and sent him to the plantation-house for assistance. M. Odeluque was found there, and these three men, but half armed, but with resolute hearts, were in the midst of five hundred rebel negroes, without any attempt from the latter to renew their attack. Finding no traces of the rebels in the grounds about the residence of the overseer, the three whites proceeded to the plantation house, the gate of which they found open, and its lock broken. This had been done by the leader of the rebels, who, seeing the attack on the overseer fail, had run with all his might to stay any farther proceeding. But notwithstanding all his precaution, fire had already been set at different points in the neighborhood. Those negroes upon whom suspicion rested, were the next day arrested, and one of them, Ignace, confessed the whole extent and minute preparations of the conspiracy. The confederation was discovered to be extensive; but from a fatality which seems to have resulted from the madness of suicide, the immediate perpetrators of the attack on M. Mossut were alone punished, while the planters held in their hands a clue to guide them to a full discovery of the meditated insurrection, which was in a few days to spread desolation over the fairest portion of the earth.*

On the 22d of August, the insurrection, the time of

* Dalmas.

which had been anticipated by the former attempt, burst forth in all its terror and calamity. The slaves of the plantation Turpin, headed by an English negro named Buckman, set out at ten o'clock at night, in their way drawing into their ranks the slaves of four or five other plantations, and commenced the horrors of a wide spread negro insurrection. They were the veriest tigers in rage and cruelty. The plain of Cape Francois, that might have rivaled the fabled garden of the Hesperides, both in richness and beauty, was soon in one universal conflagration, the gleams of which painted the sky in lurid horror, while the smoke enveloped the whole country in uncertain gloom. The ranks of the rebels were increased at every step of their progress, and along their march of devastation they massacred every white who fell into their power without distinction of age or sex, viewing with fiendish delight the agonies and groans of those whom so lately they had not dared to look in the face.

These scenes of destruction were continued through the night, and on the following day the inhabitants of Cape Francois knew nothing of the disasters around them, but by the smoke that obscured the horizon and the fugitives that were pouring into their gates. Petrified with horror and panic they quickly fastened themselves in their houses, and locked up their slaves. The troops of the garrison were the only living objects seen in the streets, as they were hurrying to their different posts. An alarm gun soon called the whole population to arms. The people came out of their houses, accosted and questioned each other, and catching courage from the effect of numbers, their former fear was soon changed to an inspiring cry for vengeance, which in their determined infatuation was principally directed against the mulattoes. These were accused of having instigated the blacks to revolt, and on them it was thought immediate and summary vengeance should fall. In the delirium of the moment a few of that unfortunate race expiated with their lives the suspicion of their being accomplices with the rebels in the plain. To stop this wicked injustice of murdering the innocent for the crimes of the guilty, the provincial assembly hastened to assign places of refuge for this proscribed caste, who ran thither to put themselves under the protection of

the military. They demanded arms, especially the mulatto planters, and expressed an eagerness to march against the common enemy; and such was the blindness of creole prejudice that even the assembly hesitated at first to accept their offer.*

The insurrection spread like a stream of electricity, and within four days one third part of the plain of Cape Francois was but a heap of ashes. Many members of the new colonial assembly in their journey from Leogane to the Cape were surprised and killed by the rebels, and a detachment of troops was found necessary to guard the route of the president, secretaries and archives of this body. M. Tousard was despatched against the rebels with a detachment of troops of the line and national guards, together with some grenadiers and chasseurs of the regiment of the Cape; but nothing, without the courage and veteran skill of this able officer, could have kept the troops in an imposing attitude in such fearful circumstances. On every side, and in every direction, they were beset by swarms of the rebels, who seemed to despise danger and defy the utmost that could be done against them. An order from the governor general, however, recalled the forces of M. Tousard in haste to Cape Francois, where from the advance of the negroes on that town the consternation was heart-rending. The place was now entirely surrounded with blazing plantations, and even the hideous outcries could be heard of those fiends, who were every where triumphant in their march of desolation and massacre. The advance guard established on the plantation Bongars had been affrighted from its defence of that post, and thus the two most beautiful quarters of the colony, those of Morin and Limonade, were given to the torches of the rebels. They even advanced to the Haut du Cap, and the cannon brought to play upon their huddled masses was scarcely sufficient to check them in their headlong march. The return of Tousard upon their rear dispersed them, but by his retreat they were left in undisputed possession of the country. They immediately extended their ravages from the sea shore to the mountains, and when nothing more was left for them to destroy, their headlong tumultuousness began to give place in their leisure to a

* Lacroix.

regular organization and a more systematic warfare. Their continuance in the field, notwithstanding the vast amount of plunder to tempt them from their course, and the celerity and skilfulness of their movements, had already given rise to the suspicion that they were guided in their enterprise by some being superior to themselves. They no longer exposed themselves in masses to the destructive sweep of cannon and small arms, but by scattering their detachments, by suddenly dispersing to the shelter of hedges and thickets, when occasion required, they often succeeded in surprising or surrounding their enemy, and when neither could be done, in crushing them by a vast superiority in numbers. While the preparations for the attack were in progress their obies performed the Oungah, or mysterious rite to their demons, by which the imaginations of the multitude were heated and strained to the utmost degree of tension, and the women and children danced an accompaniment to the ceremony with howlings and outcries that savored of Pandemonium. Amid the excitement of this wild uproar the attack began with yells and terrific gesticulations. If they met with a firm and effective resistance the energy of their attack soon slackened—but if the defence was weak and faltering their boldness and audacity became extreme. They rushed forward to the cannon's mouth, and thrusting in their arms and bodies purchased the retreat of the enemy by this self immolation. Contortions and howlings were not the only means they used to intimidate their adversaries—the flames which they applied to the highly inflammable fields of cane, to the houses and mills of the plantations, and to their own cabins, covered the heavens with clouds of smoke by day, and illuminated the horizon by night with gleams that gave to every object the color of blood. After a silence the most profound there would arise an outcry from their camp the most appalling; this would again be followed by the plaintive cries of their prisoners, whom the savages made it their sport to sacrifice at their advance posts.

In the midst of these scenes of horror the new colonial assembly commenced its sittings. Burning with rancor toward France, and distrustful of the aid which might be rendered them by an Assembly whose sublimated doctrines

had already caused so much disorder in the colony, the members doggedly refused to send an official account of the rebellion to France, or turn their hopes of succor to that mother country to whose ill-advised legislation they ascribed all their misfortunes. To compel the governor general to adopt the same policy, an embargo was laid on all the ports of the colony. Fully determined to be sufficient for its own defence in the present emergency, the assembly proceeded to decree the immediate formation of three regiments of troops—to proclaim the existence of martial law—to protract the usual term of office to its president, to enable that officer to finish a negotiation already opened with the governor of Jamaica, to which island two commissioners had already been despatched, to solicit assistance in the perilous crisis of their affairs. Goaded on by its irritated feelings the assembly next proceeded to a measure which was to cut its vain step-mother to the heart. The chapeau bras was banished from the island, and it was ordered that the English round hat should be universally worn in its stead. A uniform of red and black was decreed to be the costume of the new levy of troops. The motto, “vive la nation, la loi and le roi,” was effaced from behind the president’s chair, and the president himself assumed a cockade of black instead of the national tricolor. It was farther decreed that the members of the colonial assembly should wear a scarf of black crape as a badge of their office, while the members of the old provincial assembly of the Cape were to wear scarfs of red, “a decoration puerile and ridiculous,” observes M. Dalmas, “if it had not indicated the end toward which every thing was tending.”

The solicited succors from Jamaica amounted to little more than friendly assurances, and empty wishes for the speedy restoration of tranquillity to the island. A vessel of war had been despatched to Port au Prince by Lord Effingham, the governor, and five hundred muskets, some munitions of war, and a quantity of provisions had been sent to Cape Francois—the governor stating “that he could not take it upon himself to do more in the then critical situation of the West India islands.”

The infatuated colonists could only be restrained from their perpetual discord by a sense of immediate and over-

whelming danger. Soon as success in a few skirmishes had manifested to them that even in their crippled state they could maintain their superiority over the negroes, all their ancient discord was commenced anew. Instead of marching to crush the rebellion by one bold and vigorous movement, the time, which was so precious and irrevocable, was spent in mutual recrimination and reproaches of each other; both sides accusing their opponents of having excited the slaves to rebellion. Meantime the insurgents, in full possession of the plain of Cape Francois, were revelling amidst the spoils of the vanquished. The colonists to intimidate them changed the sluggish and inefficient war they were carrying on to one of extermination. This was ill-timed and impolitic, for the insurrection had grown too strong to yield to fear, and the negroes repaid the cruelty by augmenting the tortures of their own captives. The negro chiefs would have no neutrals among those of their race, and the more faithful slaves, who were found concealing themselves from the rebels, were immediately put to death by their own countrymen. On the other hand parties of enraged whites were traversing the country, and with an indiscriminating vengeance killing every living thing that was black. The faithful slave, who in this reciprocal destruction came to elaim the protection of his master against those who on either side sought his life, was in many instances put to death by that very master himself. This blind severity served no purpose but to swell the ranks of the rebels, for the peaceable negro could find no security for his life but by assuming arms in the ranks of his countrymen.

In the first moments of the rebellion the negroes had murdered all their prisoners, but as success increased the complacency of triumph taught them more clemency, or perhaps they had become glutted with cruelty and crime. They no longer massacred the women and children, and only showed themselves cruel to their prisoners taken in battle, whom they put to death with such studied tortures as cannot be named without a thrill of horror. They tore them with red-hot pincers—sawed them asunder between planks—roasted them by a slow fire—or tore out their eyes with red-hot cork-screws. Their principal leader, Jean Francois, assumed the title of grand admiral

of France, and his lieutenant, Biassou, called himself generalissimo of the conquered country. They were evidently under the guidance and instruction of demons higher in intelligence than they. The rebels stated that they were in arms for their king, whom their enemies and his had cast into prison—but at other times they asserted that their sole object was to save themselves from their tyrants, the planters. These were the reasons of their chiefs; but the mass of the insurgents had no distinct object in view, farther than to gain a freedom from labor, and to gratify their desire for a life of plunder and drunkenness. It soon became known that there were white men in their ranks, and a letter was found in one of their places of encampment, which contained promises of supplies, and was signed Don Alonzo. A party of the rebels presented itself before the town of Port Margot, bearing a white flag, on one side of which was written “vive le roi,” and upon the other “ancien regime.” They stated that they were fighting for their king, who had been put in prison because he wished to liberate the blacks—that the ancient regime must be restored, and then the whites might return to their homes, after having been disarmed. This reasonable overture was followed by an attack upon the town of Port Margot in which the negroes were defeated and dispersed in flight, leaving upon the field of battle four pieces of cannon and two hundred of their dead. This and a few other checks taught the rebels circumspection, and they grew more cautious in offering battle, except when a post had become weakened by disease, or was isolated from any means of ready succor. By this wary proceeding they at last gained possession of nearly every place in the north of the colony which was not in close communication with a fortified town. Never was the old maxim that those who are destined to destruction are first demented, more fully exemplified than among the whites of St. Domingo at this epoch. They still continued their mad bickerings when their very homes had grown unsafe, from the torch of the revolted negroes. While the former were driven to conceal the weakness of the points they could not cover, the rebels were every day making acquirements in the art of war, and learning to turn the vicissitudes of battle to their own benefit. What

the colonial government should have made an overwhelming armament was frittered away in garrisoning insignificant posts, and the grand and united effort, which would have forever crushed the rebellion, was wasted away in petty skirmishes, in which the multitudes of the negroes were an equal balance to the superior skill of the whites. Te Deum was daily sung by both belligerents, in impious thanksgiving to God for what was nothing but a continued massacre. The heads of murdered whites, stuck on poles, surrounded the camp of the rebels, and the hedges that bordered the way conducting to the posts of the whites were filled with the dead bodies of negroes swinging in the wind.

After a long succession of skirmishes which had resulted in nothing but to drive the rebels from the plain to the mountains, whence after the withdrawal of the troops they rushed back again to the plain, the negroes were nearly subdued by a combined movement, which had been ordered by M. Blanchelande, and executed by M. Tousard. Camp Lecoque and Acul were taken by the whites, and a large body of negroes were surrounded upon the plantation Alquier, who were surprised by night, and all who were unable to effect an escape were cut in pieces. M. Tousard was fortunate enough in this expedition to save from the hands of the negroes a great number of white children, and eighty white females, who were found shut up in the church at Limbé. The horrible fact that their female captives were not destroyed by the negroes, and the disclosure of facts which afterwards conducted to the scaffold the priest of Limbé, for prostituting these females to Biassou, came to add to the afflicting details of the time.*

* Lecroix.

CHAPTER V.

The colonial priesthood—atrocities of the negro chief Jeannot—hostilities of the mulattoes of the south—the Concordat—new legislation of the National Assembly—battle between the whites and mulattoes of Port au Prince—burning of that town—new overtures with the mulattoes—arrival of commissioners from France—conferences with the negro chiefs—massacre of whites at Ouanaminthe—violence of the assembly of Cape Francois—its hatred toward the French commissioners—conduct of M. Borel in the plain of the Artibonite—expedition from Port au Prince against Croix des Bouquets—Insurrection of the negroes of the south—assembly of peace and union at St. Marks—Jacobinical transactions at Cape Francois—tour of the governor general to the southern provinces—murder of M. Mollet and M. Guiton at the Mole St. Nicholas—the mulatto chieftain Rigaud.

IN this day of disaster and gloom that brooded in darkness over the colony, the sickening fact was forced upon the citizens, that the ministers of their religion were partners in the rebellion. Nearly all the Catholic priesthood of the colony were discovered to be in the ranks of the insurgents, profiting by their ignorance and directing their fanaticism. Arrayed in the robes of their office, they were following the bloody ensign of the rebels for perquisites which it would insult human nature to make known. The French colony of St. Domingo was divided into fifty-two parishes, all of which were appropriated to two orders of ecclesiastics; those of the north to the Capuchins, and those of the south to the Dominicans. All these parishes were not always furnished with incumbents, from the negligence of the planters in matters of religion, and the destructiveness of the climate, which was greatly augmented by the excesses to which, on their arrival in the island, the ecclesiastics gave themselves. "The Capuchin," says Malouet, "is no longer the same person from the time he arrives in the colony, and is clothed in the rich stuffs given him by the negresses, and furnished with his coachman and cook." At the head of the two apostolic missions there were two prefects, who employed as curates the secular priests who from time to time arrived to seek their fortune in the colony. The revenues of the church in St. Domingo amounted to

nearly two millions of francs, all of which were divided among forty or fifty priests—giving to each a sum of thirty or forty thousand francs a year.

There is no race of mankind so superstitious as the negro. "Though frequent to church," says Malouet, "they have no idea of religion beyond the priests and images, to each of which they ascribe a magical virtue in themselves—mingling with the outward profession of the Christian faith a worship which is pure idolatry." Taking advantage of this quality in their nature, the priests of the colony might have availed themselves of their powerful influence, and speaking in the name of the God of peace stopped the farther progress of the insurrection. But their corrupt propensities drew them to a different conduct, and when they saw fortune about to desert the whites, they arrayed themselves on the side of the negroes, to share in the spoils of their former patrons, and dazzle their ambition with hopes of higher power under a new order of things.

The rebels ascribed their late disasters to treason in their camp. A negro named Jeannot was of all their chieftains the most ferocious. Suspecting the fidelity of a negro under his orders, who was also accused of having saved his master from the knives of the insurgents, this monster ordered that he should be cut in pieces and thrown into the fire, on the charge that he had drawn the balls from the cartridges of the blacks, in their late unsuccessful conflicts with M. Tousard. This Jeannot was one of the negroes that had served as guides in the unseasonable and fanatic expedition to the mountains of the Cape during the first phrenzy of the revolution. Other acts of cruelty still more revolting are related of this rebel chief. The plantation of M. Paradole, situated on Grande Riviere, suffered an attack from the insurgents, in which the proprietor himself was made a prisoner. Four of his children, who in the first moments of their panic had fled to places of concealment, came to implore the negro chief to liberate their father. This filial devotion, which was interpreted as defiance by the unfeeling black, irritated him to fury. He ordered that the four young men should be slain separately before the eyes of their parent, who was then himself put to death, the last

victim in this domestic tragedy. The atrocity of this action was even too much for Jean Francois, who had already become jealous of Jeannot's growing ascendancy. The latter affected the state and bearing of a monarch, never proceeding to mass but in a chariot drawn by six horses. The envy of Jean Francois was soon imbodyed in action. He attacked his associate chief and overcame him, and the monster was shot at the foot of a tree that had been fitted up with iron hooks upon which to hang his living victims by the middle of the body. Buckman, also, the original leader in the insurrection, fell a sacrifice to the vengeance of the whites during this expedition of M. Tousard, and his head was brought into Cape Francois and exposed on the gates of the town. The discontented colonists accused the military of conniving at the excesses of the rebels, and of an unwillingness to act efficiently against them, although of the sixty officers of the regiment of the Cape twenty had already perished during the various campaigns in the plain. The populace went so far as to impute the ravages of climate to aristocratic and anti-revolutionary intrigues. The usual mortality of the season was charged on colonel Cambefort, who was accused of having poisoned the well from which water was supplied to an unhealthy post in the country. If M. Blanchelande ordered the troops on active service against the rebels, he was accused of leaving the Cape exposed while war and desolation were raging around it—if he recalled the forces, it was complained that he was abandoning the whole country to destruction. If the troops did not slay their prisoners, they were denounced as being in league with the rebels—if they did, the outcry arose that private vengeance was striving to accomplish the ruin of such or such a proprietor. Most of the latter, grown petulant in consequence of misfortune, were clamorous for the preservation of their slaves, when even those slaves were taken in arms against their masters.

While ruin was thus universal in the North, the mulattoes of the South were seizing the present conjuncture to establish their rights by force. Their leaders showed themselves more skilful than Ojé. Instead of remaining in Port au Prince they made their rendezvous at Croix des Bouquets, and made no demonstration of their design

till their organization had been made complete. Port au Prince considered itself strong enough to punish this schism, and the military forces of the place took up their march immediately for the encampment of the mulattoes. Some detachments of cavalry from both sides had already met in the plain of Cul de Sac, and the advantage was clearly on the side of the mulattoes. On the night of the 1st of September a body of adventurers and sailors, joined to a force of two hundred troops of the line and a detachment of the national guard, and furnished with a small train of artillery, set off from Port au Prince to attack the post of Croix des Bouquets. They continued their march until break of day, when they found themselves in the grounds of the plantation Pernier, and the fields of cane in flames on every side of their column. A brisk fire of musketry from an ambuscade of mulattoes immediately followed, and the field was strewn with killed and wounded. The whites were thrown into disorder, and their rout soon became complete. The mulattoes with admirable tact followed up their advantage by making immediate offers to negotiate, which their defeated opponents accepted without a moment's hesitation. A treaty was made, called a Concordat, in which the whites promised to make no farther opposition to the late decree of the National Assembly, as well as to recognise the political equality of mulattoes with themselves, and to secure the complete indemnification of all those who had suffered for political offences, either in property, person or *life*. The mulattoes demanded that the garrison of Port au Prince should be composed of whites and mulattoes in equal numbers—that the judges who had condemned Oje should be consigned to infamy—that the future legislature of the colony should be composed of members chosen conformably to the late decree, and that whenever the principles of this decree were not recognized in the elections both contracting parties should unite to enforce their execution. The discussions being all finished on the several articles of this treaty, which secured to the mulattoes all that they had ever demanded, it was signed on the 23d of October, 1791. On the following day five hundred mulattoes made their triumphal entry into Port au Prince, and general Caredeux marched at the head of

the column arm in arm with the mulatto chieftain Beauvais, and the other officers of both colors following in the same manner; and all were decorated with sprigs of laurel in their hats, a symbol of victory much more appropriate to the situation of the mulattoes than to that of their white allies. When the procession arrived at the quarters of the regiments of Normandy and Artois it was saluted with a general discharge of artillery, the intervals of which were filled with shouts of joy, and plighted oaths of perpetual union and fidelity. It was proclaimed from a cannon that M. Caradeux had been constituted captain general of the national guard, and immediately after that general Beauvais had been made his second in command. *Te Deum* was then chanted in the church, and congratulation and festivity united all hearts.

When the mulattoes had formed their confederation, the indication was plainly given, that should their opponents persevere in refusing them a recognition of the rights for which they were in arms, the same disasters were to be expected that were then overwhelming the North with ruin. For this design the mulattoes had prepared themselves. They had enlisted in their service as auxiliaries a body of maroon negroes, who had been driven to the woods in consequence of former revolts, and who had been organized under the somewhat incongruous name of the Swiss corps. After the arrangement of the Concordat had established peace and union between the whites and mulattoes, it was found a work of difficulty to fix the future condition and destiny of these dark complexioned Swiss. Commissioners were appointed to determine the matter, and it was finally decided that the masters of these blacks should be repaid for the loss of their slaves, and that the latter should be transported to the Mosquito shore, furnished with provisions for three months, with arms and agricultural implements. The merchant ship charged with the transportation of these negroes, instead of proceeding to Mexico, landed them secretly on the coast of Jamaica. The governor of that island complained of this violation of its laws to the authorities of St. Domingo, and sent back the negroes at the expense of the latter colony. The colonial assembly ordered that they should be put aboard a prison-ship then

lying at the Mole St. Nicholas. Some enraged whites came aboard the ship one night and murdered sixty of these unfortunate blacks, and cast their bodies into the sea. The remainder of these outcasts from humanity soon perished to a man of misery and hard treatment.*

Meantime the war continued in the plain of Cape Francois with unmitigated fierceness, and human blood still flowed in torrents amid the cruelty practised on both sides. It was estimated that within the space of two months more than two thousand whites had fallen victims to the insurrection—that one hundred and eighty sugar plantations, and nearly nine hundred plantations of coffee, cotton and indigo had been laid waste, and their mills and houses consumed to ashes.† The negroes in the wantonness of their fury left nothing undestroyed that was not in itself indestructible. The thick walls of edifices, which remained standing after the fire had consumed all enclosed within them, were by painful manual effort razed to the ground. The iron kettles of the boiling houses, and the bells which called them to their labors, were crushed into atoms, as if to destroy from the very face of the earth all memorials of former servitude. Twelve hundred families once opulent and happy were reduced to utter poverty, and driven in their destitution to subsist on public charity or private hospitality in their own or foreign countries. More than ten thousand of the rebels also had perished by the sword or by famine, and many hundreds of them had met their fate from the hands of the public executioner.

Meantime the National Assembly of France, alarmed that its decree of the 15th of May had produced so much discontent and disorder in St. Domingo—though for the present it remained ignorant of the rebellion of the slaves—now continued its fluctuating and ruinous policy in relation to the colonies; by producing, on the 24th of September, another decree, by which it again recognized in the legislatures of the colonies all right to frame a government for themselves, and to graduate the political condition of all persons residing within them. This new tergiversation of the National Assembly could not be more fatal or inopportune: for just as the whites of St.

* Lacroix. † Malo.

Domingo had begun to perceive the absolute necessity there was of conforming to the decree of the 15th of May, and those of Port au Prince had already formed a confederation with their old enemies, the mulattoes, whom they had admitted to an equality of privileges with themselves, this new decree came to annul the whole, and to tear open the wounds which had already begun to cicatrize. When tidings of this decree arrived in the island the friends of the colony saw that all hope of tranquillity had now vanished forever. The mulattoes, whom a recent adoption into the class of citizens had endowed with increased sensitiveness in relation to their rights, could not be made to believe that this new change in the policy of the National Assembly had been accomplished without the interference of the whites of the colony, and they were the more enraged that this treason against them had been carried on while the outward professions had abounded in promises of friendship and perpetual union. Many of them formally declared that the time had at length arrived when the fearful question was to be tried, which of the two classes, themselves or the whites, were in future to inhabit the country. In the north of the island, where the very ground under their feet was still smoking with the life-blood of their brethren, and no fearful conjunction of disasters could give rise to a greater necessity for union among all those who were interested in the fortunes of the colony, prejudice and hatred urged on the whites to scorn the mulattoes, and to suspect, and in some cases to refuse the coöperation with them of that class of proprietors; an event which would have had the effect to crush the rebellion in a short time. The two principal military commanders in that province, M. Rouvray and Tousard were unwearied in their efforts to bring about this desirable union. "I seize this occasion," exclaimed M. Rouvray in a speech to the colonial assembly, "to give my opinion. I am a colonist and proprietor, with some little experience, particularly in war, which has been the study of my life. Men when far from all danger to themselves can speak tranquilly and with freedom of passing events; but it is easier to criticise a military movement than to order better in the same circumstances. From these general truths, too little regarded at present,

I come to the question before us. I know of no other remedy for the evils that surround us than the employment of military force; and where is it? What is the white population in comparison with the slaves? Is it sufficient to reduce the latter without the aid of the mulattoes? But I hear it asked, Must we yield to the threats of an inferior race, and admit them to rights of citizenship as the price for the evil which they themselves have caused? Yes, gentleman, policy ought to silence your resentment, because France will not feel it with you. The philosophy of the day, which rules in her counsels, makes her regard your prejudice as cruel and unjust, however natural it may be in reality. But we may still wait for the force which is, without doubt, on its way to assist us. Feeble and deceitful hope! I place little assurance upon it, and know not that you should desire it. We do not know on what condition it will be granted us; and were it placed entirely under your orders, without any conditions from the mother country, I fear not to tell you it will prove insufficient. Six thousand men will not establish peace. Climate will destroy half of them before they have resided three months in the country. Do you doubt what I say? Learn that indecent clamors may force to silence, but will never refute reasoning founded upon the authority of history. One day perhaps the cries of scorn with which you repay important truths will be changed to tears of blood. I have experience on my side, and its lessons weigh down the foolish pride of the sophists of the day. I will cite an instance. It is striking. In the war of 1756 England sought to gain possession of Cuba. Lord Albemarle was ordered to invest Havana. He had 18,000 men under his orders when he landed on that coast, and within six months, after there remained of this force but 1800 men, and the general himself had fallen a victim to the climate. Think upon this event—the application is not difficult.”

These conclusions were self-evident; but reason has little influence over the determined blindness of party, and they produced but little effect. The assembly of Cape François, however, in a moment of calmness, passed a decree on the 2d of November, by which enfranchisement as citizens was allowed to the mulattoes, to

take effect "when they had used all their efforts to quell the insurrection." This vague decree so far from satisfying the mulattoes served no other purpose than to increase their suspicion, and to hasten their determination to sustain by force those rights which they so plainly saw would never be granted by compromise and with cordiality.

In this state of feeling the hollow friendship existing between the whites and mulattoes of Port au Prince was at once broken up by an occurrence which called into action all the bitterness of their ancient hatred and defiance of each other. Some of Praloto's artillerists in Port au Prince became involved one day in a dispute with a free black, who was included within the ranks of the mulatto corps, which formed part of the garrison of the place. The broil terminated in the arrest of the black, who was led away to the municipality for his trial, though the angry artillerists loudly demanded that he should be tried by a court martial upon the spot. The mulatto chiefs of the garrison sent a messenger to the municipality to implore that no hasty judgment should be given, on the case during the excitement of the moment. To this modest request an answer was returned that the black had been torn by force from the hotel de ville, and hung to a lantern-post without condemnation. The indignation of the mulattoes was uncontrollable, and one of the offending artillerists was made a victim to their vengeance. He was shot at and wounded while passing on horseback before the government house, where the mulattoes were posted in quarters. For this act, which was but a sudden ebullition of popular fury, none of the mulatto chiefs were responsible, as Rigaud was then at Aux Cayes, and most of his associates in command were upon their estates in the country. The mulatto general Beauvais when he was informed of the disaster gave orders that the wounded man should be carried into the government-house, and his wounds dressed. The national guard and troops of the line were immediately ordered out, and their commander was instructed by the municipality to disperse the mulattoes, who were denominated "an evil intentioned crowd collected about the government-house." After receiving this fatal order, the white commander proceeded immediately to the mulatto chiefs, and with looks of regret

demanded to know what were their intentions. They replied that they had no hostile designs, but that they would not give up to justice those who had committed the recent aggression upon the artillerist, because they had been provoked to it by the death of their comrade, the free black, who, when arraigned for trial, had found not judges but executioners. While this conference was going on, a detachment of troops came within sight with drums beating and colors flying. The white commander joined them immediately, and ordered them to file off into a cross street. After this a second deputation came to implore the mulatto chiefs not to give occasion to a conflict, which, though it might arise from two insignificant scuffles would be the signal for a general carnage. The mulatto general replied that surrounded as he was by threatening preparations, he could not foretell what would be the issue, though if they were attacked the mulattoes would hope for resources in Providence and their own despair. Hardly had he finished speaking when a rumbling noise announced the approach of Praloto's artillery, and a battery of twenty cannon opened its fire upon the ranks of the mulattoes, who, before they could recover from their astonishment, were completely overthrown. Gen. Beauvais retreated into the garden behind the government-house, whence he defiled out of the town and gained the road to the mountains. A second division of the mulattoes, stationed at a post in the quarter Belair, assisted this movement by making a charge upon the artillerists, from whom during the *melée* they succeeded in taking one gun. Parties of troops were now despatched from house to house, to compel the wealthy merchants and proprietors to take part in a battle which they had used every effort to prevent. A wealthy young man, whose name was Kercado, just married, and designing to embark with his wife on the next day for the United States, was torn from his house to the field of action, and in the same instant received a wound which was mortal.

But a worse catastrophe than a single domestic tragedy now awaited the town of Port au Prince. Scarcely had the mulattoes gained the country, and the whites begun to congratulate themselves upon their fatal victory, when both the north and south portions of the town were dis-

covered to be on fire, and in an incredibly short space of time the whole square composed of the Rue de Favoris and the Rue de Belair, was wrapt in conflagration. The fire made such progress that no exertions could arrest it, and it continued to rage for forty-eight hours, when it began to abate for want of farther materials to minister to its fury, and twenty-seven out of the thirty squares of the town were found utterly destroyed.

Affright, disorder and pillage augmented the horrors of this calamity. The fire was of course attributed to the mulattoes, and their wives and children, amounting in numbers to two thousand, found themselves obliged to fly, not only from their burning habitations, but from the sword with which, in the blindness of their vengeance, the whites were pursuing them. Driven by this two-fold terror they ran for the country, or rushed toward the sea shore, where not finding boats enough to contain them, and in their anxiety to escape the death that was following upon their footsteps, pressing in crowds upon each other, great numbers of them were forced into the sea, there to find a death as dreadful as that they were escaping. The accusation was afterward transferred from the mulattoes to the merchants of the town, whom the planters charged with having recourse to this means of destroying all documents and securities, as an easy method of ridding themselves from all liabilities to them. Amid the reigning disorder, suspicion was taken for demonstrated evidence, and execution followed immediately after. The mercantile establishments which were not burnt were given up to be pillaged by the mob; but scarcely had this been accomplished when suspicion was turned into a new direction, and the artillerists of Praloto were accused of firing the town. "A simpler explanation than either of these is easy," adds Lacroix. "In a town built entirely of wood, and upon a soil where a burning sun dries up every thing not endowed with life, the wadding of a single cartridge would be sufficient to kindle a fire upon the roofs of houses which are inflammable as tinder; and that a battle could be fought in such a place without exciting a conflagration would be a matter of astonishment."

The loss of property by this fire was immense, and has been estimated at fifty millions. Thus by one day's dis-

aster the town was made a mass of ruin—and those who had prided themselves upon being safe from the dangers which were overwhelming the North were at once struck from their fancied security to misery and beggary.

The mulatto forces rallied at their old rendezvous, the Croix des Bouquets, and their chiefs began immediately to negotiate with the neighboring parishes, to secure assistance to themselves in the war which had so unexpectedly commenced. The town of St. Marks declared itself in their favor, and consented to receive a mulatto detachment as a garrison to the place. Reinforcements were likewise drawn to the standard of the mulattoes from Leguane, Petit Goave, and Anse a Veau, all of which rallied at St. Marks. The attitude of the mulattoes soon grew so imposing that terror began to give place to regret among the ruined inhabitants of Port au Prince. They feared the vengeance of the mulattoes, and were filled with anxiety when they saw them so deliberately and successfully making their preparations for war. The miserable whites of Port au Prince were obliged to rouse themselves from the despair into which they were sunk, to fortify their town against the coming struggle. No farther thought was cast back upon the treasures which they had lost, but every one engaged himself with desperation to secure the place from assault by such an enemy. M. Grimoard, who commanded the naval forces in the harbor of Port au Prince, having put to sea with the fleet under his command, to save it from the flames of the burning town; now returned to the port, and offered himself as a mediator between the citizens and the mulatto chieftains in the plain. He repaired to Croix des Bouquets, and was astonished at the systematic precision and high military discipline which pervaded every part of the mulatto camp. The supreme command was divided between the mulatto Beauvais, and the white man Jumeau, who was a rich planter and a chevalier of St. Louis. The mulattoes readily furnished to M. Grimoard their list of stipulations, upon the fulfilment of which they were ready to make peace. They demanded the literal execution of the décret of the 15th of May, the punishment of Praloto, and the immediate transportation of his artillery. But when M. Grimoard had returned to Port au

Prince he found that his mission had been useless, as the inhabitants of that town had changed their minds in relation to any adjustment with the mulattoes, as soon as they had learned the intelligence that commissioners had arrived at Cape Francois with power to carry into execution the decree of the 24th of September. They even regretted that they had made any advances for a pacification; and the very men who had urged the departure of their mediator now accused him of being a creature of the mulattoes, and called him in derision a mere echo of his employers, because he had delivered to them a message of the mulattoes, that should their opponents persist in their hostility they must expect the same evils to come upon them as a slave insurrection was then inflicting upon the north. These were not mere empty words, for a Spanish negro named Romaine had already established himself with a band of fanatics (who regarded him as a prophet) at a place called Trou Coffi, and was calling the slaves of Leogane to his service, the perquisites of which were murder and pillage. He gave out that he was inspired by the virgin Mary, whom he professed to consult in secret, and whose answers he framed to suit his own purposes, always promising to his followers certain victory and abundant spoils.*

These oracles were kindling the fancies of the negroes, and the mulattoes, stung with resentment against the whites, were urging them onward in their rebellion; and by means of this dangerous alliance a formidable force was soon ready to be employed; whose element was disorder and whose watchword was cruelty.

The mulattoes of the South, grown suspicious for themselves in consequence of the attack upon their brethren in Port au Prince, were now busied in quitting the town and establishing themselves in the country, where they were preparing the slaves of the plantations to revolt against the whites, and array themselves on the side of the mulattoes. This course of things ended in arming the town and country against each other, to correspond to the difference in the nature and interests of the population of each. The white man of the town was the enemy of the mulatto, while at the same time the white man

* Lacroix.

of the country was his ally; and sordid considerations not only arrayed the two castes against each other, but spread division among the whites, whom considerations of common interest and common safety should have induced to live in union and friendship. Thus religion, politics, color, prejudice and interest all united themselves to propagate discord in the colony.

When the National Assembly had passed its decree of the 24th of September, it appointed also three commissioners to proceed immediately to St. Domingo, to superintend the execution of the decree, and establish peace and subordination in that distracted colony. Accompanying these commissioners there were succors in troops, money and munitions, which should have been more considerable, though as the case was the assistance was opportune, as the colonists had already begun to despair of ever surmounting the difficulties which environed them on every side, and which their own efforts seemed rather to augment than dispel.

Toward the middle of December these three commissioners arrived at Cape Francois. Two of them, Mirbeck and Roume, had been lawyers of the parliament of Paris, and the third, M. St. Leger, was an Irishman by birth, who had for many years resided in France. At the time of their departure, the National Assembly had not yet been informed of the slave insurrection in St. Domingo, nor of the vast extent of calamity which was then desolating that country. The commissioners were struck with astonishment and horror at the miseries which had spread themselves over the island, to which they had thought to have an easy mission; and when they landed at Cape Francois they manifested as much surprise as disgust at the two wheels and five gibbets which were kept in continual employ, to execute the numerous victims that were daily adjudged to death by the authorities of the colony. Horror and loathing made them insensible to the civilities which were so assiduously lavished upon them. Out of gratification to them the general assembly laid aside that distinctive epithet which had been assumed so proudly, and took its old appellation of colonial assembly, by a decree passed within two days after the arrival of the commissioners. The latter, strangers to every thing they saw,

and discouraged at the difficulties before them in their embassy, manifested much hesitation in their conduct. The colonists were not long in learning that this hesitation resulted from the insufficiency of their powers, which did not extend beyond the literal execution of the decree of the 24th of September. That authority to which only the deference of courtesy is paid can never maintain itself amid the storms of a revolution. The commissioners were soon mortified to learn that their injunctions were disobeyed or neglected, and unable to enforce them their only resource was conciliation. The colonial assembly was informed that by the decree of September nobility and sovereign power had been conferred upon that body, but as an offset to this comfortable assurance it was added, that the mulattoes were secured by this decree in the enjoyment of greater privileges than by the decree of the 15th of May. This announcement rendered the commissioners suspected, and they became more so when they proclaimed a subsequent decree of the 28th of September, granting a general amnesty to the mulattoes, who had been in arms for their rights. The colonial assembly was no longer moderate in its measures when it found itself invested with plenary powers, and was in daily expectation of reinforcements from Europe to sustain it in its course of power; and it thought much less of re-conquering its lost possessions and of subduing the rebellion than of satisfying the demands of its vengeance.

Meantime the leaders of the insurrection, fearful for the future, wearied with carnage and destruction, and too limited in intelligence to have a clear perception of acquiring for themselves a durable liberty, already began to show signs of repentance. They were more especially moved to this procedure by the representations of father Sulpice, priest of Prou, who had undertaken to impress upon the rebels a sense of the good intentions of the French government, as manifested by its amnesty of the 28th of September. But the negroes had so often outraged all divine and human laws, and had been themselves so often outraged in return, that it was found a task of difficulty to procure one who would encounter the danger of being their ambassador to the colonial assembly. Two mulattoes, Raynal and Duplessis, were at length found,

who were willing to devote themselves to this hazardous service; and being furnished with their instructions they presented themselves at the advance posts of the whites, whence they were conducted to the governor, M. Blanchelande, who sent them to the commissioners, who again referred them to the colonial assembly.

These ambassadors from the negroes had been instructed to demand an oblivion of the past, and the emancipation of four hundred negroes, who were the principal chiefs among the rebels, and who in consideration of these personal advantages pledged themselves to restore peace and subordination—to guarantee which they offered to give up as assurances of their sincerity a number of white prisoners who were then in their hands. The colonial assembly subjected these mediators to an interrogation which was long and severe, and it seemed to exert itself to estrange them by assumed haughtiness of demeanor, as much as the French commissioners sought their friendship by acts of kindness. After their examination Raynal and Duplessis were dismissed with the order to return after ten days to hear the result of the assembly's deliberations upon their offers. They were prompt at the time appointed, and received the following reply. "Emissaries of the rebel negroes, listen to the determination of the colonial assembly. This assembly, founded upon and by the law, is of opinion that it cannot hold any correspondence with those who are in arms against all law. The assembly will graciously pardon all those of the guilty who repent and return to their duty, as well as those who have been drawn into the revolt against their will. The assembly always knows how to distribute its kindness as well as its justice—retire."

The sternness and hauteur of this answer cost the lives of all the white prisoners whom the negroes had not already delivered up. "They shall suffer," said Biassou, "for the insolence of a colonial assembly which dares to treat my overtures with so little ceremony." His rage was not mitigated until he received a message from the French commissioners, who sent to demand an interview with him, and proposed that the place should be St. Michel. The mention of France still had a magical effect upon the rebels, and they readily accepted the offer of the com-

missioners. At this the assembly raised the usual outcry against designs contrary to the revolution; and the commissioners not feeling strong enough to rise above this calumny, invited the assembly to send four of its members to accompany them in the mission, and in addition to this reinforcement to their number from the ranks of the assembly, they were also attended by many private citizens who volunteered to go with them. One of them, M. Bullet, enraged beyond endurance at the sight of Jean Francois, was imprudent enough to strike with his cow-hide this chief of a hundred thousand insurgent negroes. Jean Francois left the conference immediately, and returned to his camp burning with indignation at the affront. In this critical situation of things, when all was in peril, M. St. Leger had the presence of mind and courage to advance forward into the midst of the irritated blacks. Jean Francois rushed forward and threw himself at the feet of the commissioner, repeating the same offers which had been made by Raynal and Duplessis, and promising entire submission if they were granted. M. St. Leger replied that he could do nothing without the delivery of some pledge of his good faith, and demanded the liberation of all the white prisoners that were then retained in the camp of the insurgents. Jean Francois consented to this, on condition that his wife was delivered up. She was a prisoner at Cape Francois under condemnation of death, but she had not as yet been executed for fear of reprisal on the part of her husband.

Jean Francois retired from the interview exclaiming that he was overcome with joy to find at last some white men who had feelings of humanity. On the following day he sent into Cape Francois one hundred white prisoners, the inhabitants of Grand Riviere, who had been placed under the escort of a strong guard, which was hardly sufficient to protect them from the ferocity of the blacks, who were now in great commotion from some unknown cause. The prisoners were brought to the bar of the colonial assembly, accompanied by some of the negro chiefs who had the command of their escort, among whom was Toussaint Breda, then a subordinate officer among the insurgents, but destined one day to become the hero of his race. The assembly still clung to its old

notions of dignity, and considered itself as too exalted to hold any negotiation with rebel negroes. They were told to address themselves on repentance to the French commissioners, and it had been decreed that none of these overtures with the rebels should be entered upon the journals of the assembly—all these matters being conducted by the president in the form of notes. This ill-timed haughtiness, and the former answer of the assembly to the overtures made by Raynal and Duplessis, were sufficient to determine the crafty Toussaint, who returned to his countrymen to inform them that they had nothing to hope for, as the authority of the assembly was paramount to that of the more placable commissioners. From this moment the credit and influence of the commissioners was entirely destroyed with the blacks, and Biassou evaded all farther negotiation by demanding hostages when an interview was proposed.

Instead of acting upon the rebels with the united strength of all who were willing to march against them, the assembly now decreed that it was necessary to disarm the mulattoes—an order which could not, however, be carried into execution. Notwithstanding the hatred and contempt with which they had ever been visited, and the direct hostility with which their brethren in Port au Prince were at this time arrayed against the whites, the mulattoes of the North, influenced as they were by the possession of property, had always ranged themselves on the side of the whites; and while the mulattoes of the South were in arms to revenge the deaths of Ojé and Chavanne, those of the North were fighting bravely at Marmelade to sustain themselves and the whites against the insurgent slaves. A mulatto of Port Margot had even shot his own brother-in-law upon recognizing him at the head of a party of the rebels. The planters of Plaisance, more rational than the rest, had called down upon themselves a storm of indignation by acknowledging the equality of the mulattoes with themselves. It was difficult for this insulted race to forbear forever, when examples of successful insubordination were existing on every side of them, and from the moment when the ill-judged order of the assembly to disarm the mulattoes was made known, many of them decided at once to unite themselves to the insurgent

negroes. Those who had been declared outlaws for contumacy in consequence of the affair of Ojé, having no hope of mercy or reconciliation, had from the first joined themselves to the insurrection, and one of them, named Condi, was as ferocious in cruelty as Jeannot, whose lieutenant he was. His very name had become a terror to the whites, and he forced himself into great influence with the blacks by outdoing them in atrocity and feats of daring. The rupture of the negotiations had not destroyed the hopes of this mulatto to be included in the late amnesty; the favors of which he still persisted in claiming for himself and his companions. At length his demands were granted on the condition that the pardoned mulattoes should put themselves in immediate readiness to act against their former allies, the negroes, and their corps be placed under the command of a white man whose name was Pageot. From this moment, exposed as they were to the keenest vengeance of the blacks, from whose cause they had separated, their zeal and courage were redoubled in coöperation with their new allies. The fierce Condi succeeded in preserving from devastation the entire parish of Trou; whence flying to Jacquency he dispersed six or seven hundred rebels who were marching into the South, and by his exploits completely triumphing over creole prejudice, he wrung from the colonial assembly the most satisfactory testimonials of bravery and usefulness.

Meantime the mulattoes of the South, seeking to participate in the amnesty granted by the National Assembly, despatched a deputation to Cape Francois to wait upon the French commissioners, and ascertain if their wishes could be complied with. These mulatto deputies were seized by order of the colonial assembly, and subjected to an arrest. The commissioners protested against this conduct of the assembly, and were told in excuse that the mulattoes had treacherous designs upon the town of Cape Francois, but that for the sake of peace the assembly would consent that they should be put aboard a ship in the harbor, from which they should not be permitted to land, unless for occasions of business with the commissioners or others with whom they might have transactions. The commissioners, among so many obstacles, finding it impossible to gain any accurate informa-

tion in regard to the south of the island, came to the resolution to despatch one of their number thither to acquire a true knowledge as to the true condition of things in that quarter, and to endeavor to bring about a reconciliation between the belligerents. This decision was displeasing to the assembly, and a riotous crowd of its partisans was collected to oppose the embarkation of M. St. Leger, who nevertheless broke through all difficulties and sailed for Port au Prince.

During so much civil disturbance the war was left to rage in the plain of Cape Francois. The rebels, now opening a new campaign with renewed organization and hope, were joined by large bodies of mulattoes, who fought in the ranks or led the van of the negroes. The colonial assembly, as if determined never to turn aside into the right path, refused to ratify the Concordat made at Croix des Bouquets. This added exasperation to the already existing hatred of the mulattoes, and the unworthy treatment which their deputies had received at the hands of the same assembly armed them with fury to engage in new catastrophes. They could no longer restrain themselves within the forms of a merely external allegiance towards an authority at which they were so deeply incensed, and they were distrusted in every place. Constant precautions were practised both by the whites and mulattoes to guard against the suspected plottings of each other. They kept themselves assembled in bodies, that their union might shield them from attack, and they slept upon their arms to be prepared for any emergency which might arise. In this state of things it was suggested that the post established at Ouanaminthe, which had heretofore been entrusted to a body of mulattoes, was insecure without a guard of whites, and it was in consequence ordered that the mulattoes should be removed. The commander of that cordon urged the impolicy of this measure, but his advice and experience were overruled by the wrong-headedness of the time, and M. Urvoi was ordered to take the command of Ouanaminthe with a force of sixty whites. But one single day had passed over after this invidious arrangement before the hordes of Jean Francois were introduced at midnight within the fortress through the agency of thirty mulattoes who had been suffered to

remain with Urvoi. The fortress was burnt to the ground, and not a single white escaped to tell the tale of the massacre. M. Tousard, anxious for the fate of that post from the flames which he saw in that direction from Fort Dauphin, mounted his horse and pressed forward at the head of sixty dragoons towards the spot. Arriving there at day-break, he entered the gates of the borough, and guided by traces of blood he entered the church where he found the dead bodies of his friends, whom he had dismissed the day before so full of life and hope. The movements of the insurrection seemed now to have acquired new activity and vigor. Biassou succeeded in surprising by night the post at Haut du Cap, and some mulattoes who were stationed in the neighborhood at Fort Belair abandoned their position in panic or treachery. The rebels seized upon it and turned the cannon upon the town of Cape Francois. The Hospital des Peres was next taken by the blacks—the sick who were able to flee made their escape into the heights around, and those who were not able to do this were massacred unless they happened to be clothed in the uniform of the troops of the line. “Vous autres,” said Biassou in creole dialect, “pas etre gens du roi.”* Biassou had made this daring attack for the sole purpose of getting possession of his mother, who was one of the slaves employed in the hospital; and having effected his main design he retreated without taking advantage of the confusion in which he had thrown the other posts. While Biassou and Jean Francois were thus employing the whites in front, the parishes of Moustique, Terre Nueve, Gros Morne and Jean Rabel, even to Port de Paix and the Mole St. Nicholas were burnt and devastated in their rear. In these latter places the mulattoes led on the attack, and by their superior activity and knowledge gave new vigor and effect to the insurrection. The colonial assembly devoured by the venom of its own hatred and impotent vengeance, forced an order from M. Blanchelande that no one but the French commissioners should pass beyond the outposts of the town, and colonel Cambeport having overstepped this cordon was obliged to have recourse to the commissioners to save himself from punishment.

* You others are not people of the king.

Meantime the clamor and outcry raised against the commissioners acknowledged no restraint, and Roume was directly denounced as an emissary of the amis des noirs. The commissioners thought to divert this flood of calumny by publishing their correspondence, which breathed nothing but respect for the colonial authorities—oblivion of all that had passed—and future union. The assembly then passed a decree that three of its members should sit in judgment upon the conduct of the commissioners, to determine the extent of their powers and wherein they had exceeded them, as well as to ascertain what dangers might result to the colony from their usurpations. To this malicious attack the commissioners replied that their power had no limit but in a responsibility which was fearful from its extent—that they came as simple citizens to persuade their brethren to unite their common efforts for the safety of St. Domingo. The assembly were not disarmed by this moderation. They quickly passed another decree which made a mock of the authority of the commissioners, stating that their powers were without character and without application to any purposes—that it was with the colonial assembly alone in which the power rested to apply or cause to be executed any decree emanating from the National Assembly. The assembly having gone thus far, proceeded farther, and affixed placards in all public places, which accused the commissioners of being the declared protectors of the slaves, whom they wished to emancipate, and of the mulattoes, whom they wished to invest with the same rights as were enjoyed by whites. These accusations reached the ears of the rebels, and in proportion as they increased their respect and attachment to the commissioners, they served to deepen their hatred towards the assembly.

The arrival of M. St. Leger at Port au Prince was the signal to stop the din of battle by which the inhabitants had so long been stunned. Since the day of the fire, the forts had hardly ceased to play by night or day, and by collecting the balls the mulattoes found themselves plentifully furnished with ammunition. When M. St. Leger arrived there, accompanied by his secretary, Adet, who was afterwards minister of the French republic to the

United States, the town was closely beleaguered by the forces of the confederates of Croix des Bouquets and of the South. No water could be procured from the mountains, and to obtain the scanty supply afforded to the town there was a continued succession of skirmishes. No provision could be procured to sustain the inhabitants, and nothing fresh could be obtained to support the sick who were languishing in the hospitals. In this destitution no resources could be derived from the sea but by methods as uncertain as success was difficult. Famine in short, with all its horrors, was spreading gloom and thick darkness over the hopes of the town.

Gladdened by the hope which again dawned upon them to effect an adjustment of their claims without farther recourse to hostilities, the mulattoes seized the occasion of St. Leger's arrival to demand an interview with the commissioner—but the municipality of Port au Prince would not consent to ensure the safety of their deputies but under the very guns of fort St. Joseph, and here the conference was appointed to take place. The mulatto deputation manifested the most profound respect for the commissioner of France. On the faith of certain assurances they consented to allow the water to flow again into the town, and to re-open the communication with the plain for the passage of provisions. Scarcely had the conference closed when M. Caredeux came to inform M. St. Leger that his designs were suspected, and that it had been denied that he had any right to treat with the mulatto insurgents without giving an account of his negotiations—and he was informed in the name of the national guard that his effects must be examined. M. St. Leger was able to control his indignation at this insult, in the hope of doing good, and while he was continually insulted he still persisted in preaching peace. Meantime the mulattoes seemed willing to listen to his representations, and although they still maintained their attitude of war, prepared at any time to recommence hostilities, they permitted provisions and animals to pass into the besieged town. While this gleam of final success was lightening the multiplied discouragements of St. Leger, an occurrence came to overthrow all that had as yet been accomplished.

The marquis de Borel had been one of the most violent members of the colonial assembly of Cape Francois, but failing to animate that heated assembly to the point of his own recklessness, he quitted his seat, and fixing himself with a crowd of followers upon his plantation on the banks of the Artibonite, like the barons of old, made war upon his own account.' He displayed a red flag, as the ensign around which his retainers were to rally, and by his bold inroads directed on every quarter kept the whole neighborhood in awe. He compelled the whites of the Artibonite and Verrettes to revoke the treaty which had been made to unite them with the mulattoes, and under pretence of warring against the mulattoes and the friends of the mulattoes, against whom he gave out that he was armed, he extended his excursions far and wide, and made attacks upon travellers who were crossing the district of country which he held under his command. The evil at last grew so pressing that the mulattoes felt themselves impelled by a desire of self-preservation to stop the ravages of this bandit chieftain, and their efforts were crowned with complete success. Borel was vanquished in a pitched battle, and almost all his followers were massacred by the conquerors. A detachment of troops of the line forming part of the cordon of the plain of the Artibonite marched to the assistance of M. Borel of its own accord, and against the orders of M. Blanchelande, the governor. The mulattoes gained intelligence of this movement, and awaited the approach of the detachment, lying in ambuscade. The troops soon came up, and in the attack which followed the white commander was killed, and his whole force destroyed or put to flight. The saltmakers of Gonaives, who were also the allies of M. Borel, were dispersed by the mulattoes, and fled to the Mole St. Nicholas. M. Borel was thus defeated every where, and seeing all his warlike attempts fail, he returned to Cape Francois, and notwithstanding his past misconduct quietly resumed his seat in the colonial assembly.

In this short struggle the mulattoes had shown themselves desperate. They had armed their slaves, and even slain those who had refused to follow them; showing themselves almost as ferocious as the black insurgents of the North. M. Fontanges, who commanded the troops form-

ing the cordon of the Artibonite, anxious for his situation between two conflagrations, seized the readiest opportunity to make peace with the mulattoes of the Artibonite. Imitating this example of the military commander of that district, all the parishes in the West with the single exception of Port au Prince, seeing the evident necessity of averting this new storm which was ready to burst upon their neighborhood, entered into arrangements with the mulattoes. In their new zeal for the restoration of tranquillity they went even farther. They sought to convert the mulattoes from dangerous enemies into active allies. This conduct was applauded by the commissioners, but furiously assailed by the colonial assembly, whose tribune echoed with denunciations of this conduct in its agents. M. St. Leger was made responsible for the massacre of the troops on the Artibonite; and the provincial assembly of Port au Prince raised its voice for his immediate transportation from the colony. Feeling himself outraged by this treatment the commissioner quitted Port au Prince, where an escort of troops was refused him for his journey. The mulattoes placed under his orders a force of one hundred men, under whose safeguard he passed to Leogane. Here he embarked in the frigate *Galatea*, and with the ship's crew—his escort of mulattoes—and the ready assistance of the people of Leogane and Petit Goave, succeeded in breaking up the gang of rebel negroes at Trou Coffi.

Before his departure from Port au Prince, M. St. Leger warned the two belligerents, on their responsibility to the laws, not to commence any farther aggressions upon each other; and he directed the civil authorities of Port au Prince to confine themselves strictly to the defensive: assuring them that there existed little danger of another attack from the mulattoes. To omit no occasion of insult to this functionary, the cannon of the forts almost immediately after this injunction was given began to pour its volleys over the plain, to manifest how little they regarded his authority or respected his character or office. This bravado was the precursor of sinister events. Soon after it the provincial assembly of Port au Prince issued an order to assemble all the forces to march on Croix des Bouquets, to prevent, as it was alleged, a threatening in-

surrection of the slaves, whom the mulattoes were instigating to revolt. M. Degers, the commander of the forces, refused to comply with this order, and sheltered himself under the authority of the laws and the prohibition of the French commissioner. Certain members of the provincial assembly, to save themselves from this dilemma, appealed to the troops themselves, whom they succeeded in arousing to vengeance; and when they were ready to march without their commander, a new decree was passed, depriving M. Degers of the command. It was next offered to all the officers of the line in succession—forty of whom refused under such circumstances to accept it, and gave up their commissions. At last a lieutenant was found willing to be invested with this unvalued dignity, who, to show his compliance in every thing with the will of his patrons, arrested his superior officers and comrades, and sent them to the colonial assembly at Cape Francois, whence they were ordered to France for their trial.

This expedition commenced its march from Port au Prince on the 22d of March, 1792. It was preceded by a strong detachment of blacks, placed under the command of a citizen officer. The artillery of Praloto followed next in the column, and Praloto himself was commander in chief of the forces. Every thing fled in terror before this imposing armament, and an eclipse of the sun came in opportunely to augment the awe inspired by its march. A single slave belonging to the baron de Santo Domingo was the only creature who undertook to withstand the movements of this imposing force, and his resistance limited itself to an attempt to cover the retreat of his associates. The whole population around betook themselves for refuge to the mountains, and the troops found nothing to give them employment but the distributing of proclamations, calling back the inhabitants to their estates under penalty of being treated as traitors to their country. This threat succeeded in bringing back a small number, who were immediately made to swear that they would no longer conform to the conditions of the Concordat. Most of the inhabitants of the plain, however, preferred to have their homes given up to pillage and destruction rather than to place themselves within the limits of a power so reckless, which obliged them to put their very lives in jeopardy by

incurring the resentment of the mulattoes. Those who had pursued an opposite course were not long in the enjoyment of the security which they had thus purchased before they were made to feel the vengeance to which they had exposed themselves. Within less than fifteen days the exertions of the mulattoes had fully succeeded in rallying to their assistance the slaves of the plantations, who had been long ripe for a revolt. Under the guidance of a young negro named Hyacinthe they poured in vengeance upon the forces of the whites; and braving every danger the fall of their companions had no effect to shake their resolution—and their enemies were overwhelmed through the mere vastness of their numbers alone. Rushing up to the cannon of Praloto they choked them up with the dead bodies of their companions, or thrust their own limbs into the muzzles of the guns; and the continued fire of the artillerists availed nothing in dispersing them. After having killed more than one thousand of the blacks the white troops could stand the contest no longer, and they began a hasty retreat upon Port au Prince, leaving one hundred of their number dead upon the field of battle, and abandoning every thing to pillage and the flames.*

The depredations of Borel and this unfortunate expedition from Port au Prince were the real causes of the insurrection of the slaves of the South. The mulattoes, driven by persecution, had armed the slaves to enable them to triumph in the contest which they saw must continue until either themselves or their opponents were annihilated. They had been provoked to this desperate measure by a long succession of injuries, which had implanted in their bosoms a hatred too deep and envenomed to be ever again reconciled. Every thing now put on an aspect of deeper horror, when the blacks of the South as well as those of the North had arrayed themselves in open rebellion. M. St. Leger strove to arrest this new calamity by proposing an assembly of all the friends of peace and order, to devise measures against this new cause of terror and ruin. The true friends of the colony gathered themselves at St. Marks, and formed themselves into an association called the Council of Peace and Union, which elected the mulatto chieftain Pinchinat for its President. This officer

* Lacroix.

gave such a representation of the difficulties in the way of attaining the objects for which the association had been called together, that M. St. Leger in despair of ever restoring tranquillity to this infatuated colony, resolved to embark for France in the *Galatea* frigate; and he was accompanied by M. Mirbeck, who had been equally unsuccessful at Cape Francois. The other commissioner, M. Roume, had designed to follow his colleagues within three days, but he was persuaded to remain longer in the colony, by the representations of M. Dumas, a member of the colonial assembly of Cape Francois, who stated that the friends of order in that body had gained a little ascendancy over the patriots, and designed to secure the government in their own hands.

While the above movements had been in progress at Port au Prince, the disorder and misrule at Cape Francois had assumed a form more than ever disgusting. In the month of December, 1791, there had arrived from France into the colony a reinforcement of six thousand troops—a force sufficient in strength to put down the rebellion at once had it been directed upon one point. But not the smallest advantage was gained from its operations—from its being wasted in garrisoning a variety of insignificant posts, none of which did more than sustain a petty warfare, in which it was thought sufficient if they maintained themselves on the defensive only against the rebels. M. Blanchelande, the governor general, crippled as he was by the turbulent opposition of the colonial assembly, had no means of disposing this force to act with vigor and effect upon points where it was most required. To make confusion if possible worse confounded, the assembly decreed that the government of each parish should consist thereafter in a body of magistrates, called the municipality; that the national guard and troops of the line within the limits of each parish should be entirely subject to the orders of this municipality—in the formation of which due regard was to be had to that law of the National Assembly which most excluded mulattoes from any participation in the magistracy. This was a triumph of the *petits blancs*, as the decree had been so framed as to secure all authority in the hands of these patriots, even to a direct control over the military forces of the colony. It

struck a death blow at the power of the governor general, who, overawed as he was by the assembly, readily sanctioned a decree he should have rejected without a moment's hesitation. Municipalities were now established every where, to have supreme power in every parish; and one was enthusiastically organized in the island of Tortugas, where there were now but twenty whites.

This was attaining another step in the revolution, and the measure was hailed with a new burst of fanaticism. A loan, contracted in France for the benefit of the members of the old assembly of St. Marks, was now decreed a debt of the colony, and the country was declared *not* in a state of war. The municipality of Port Dauphin caused the destruction of four sugar estates, which were attacked and burnt by the negroes in consequence of their mistaking the cannonade which announced the installation of the new authority for a defiance sent into their camp. A new excitement seemed to animate all persons. The mayor of Terrier Rouge, though he himself and his family had been ruined by the insurrection of the negroes and the follies of the assembly of St. Marks, still showed himself an active partisan of those through whose agency the revolution was maintained. The syndic of Port Margot ceased not to hurl his anathemas against the governor general, and to oppose every measure that emanated from what he styled the ancient regime, though a fall from his horse had forced him to give up his place. The municipality of Plaisance, which had made itself notorious for its persecution of those who would not be its partisans, and for the burdens which by its wild and ignorant legislation it inflicted upon the people, so far from securing its territory from depredation, abandoned its parish, its sittings and its duties, at the least appearance of danger. The municipality of the Mole St. Nicholas preached sedition to the troops of its garrison, sowed discord among the citizens of the town, and soon made every thing ripe for disasters to which the atrocities of the insurrection were scarcely comparable. The municipality of Borgne was accused of aristocracy, because the influence and prudence of a few proprietors had as yet preserved it in tranquillity, and kept the slaves upon the plantations. The municipality of Cape Francois maintained intrigues on a

grander scale, and by secret machinations with the multitude aimed at nothing less than to depose the governor general himself. The town was kept in a continual fermentation, and its inhabitants had no peace by day or by night. Not a day passed over but the appalling cry was heard—"Citoyens, prenez garde a vous—fermez vos portes—aux armes!—aux armes!" The scene but not the action of this fearful drama was changed in the hall of the colonial assembly. While an orator was reproaching the agents of executive power for the ruin of St. Domingo, the roar of cannon from a skirmish with the rebels in the environs of the town, and the view of blazing habitations in the country were sublime accompaniments to the oratory.*

On the 15th of March, 1792, M. Rouvray presented to the governor general a memorial signed by a great number of proprietors, praying that the troops of the colony might be concentrated in the North instead of being divided among so many posts, where their effectiveness was utterly annihilated. When this became known to the colonial assembly cries of treason were heard from every side, and a deputation of members was immediately sent to the governor general to demand the petition. They returned without obtaining it, and there arose an immediate outcry from the galleries, that it was not the plan of a campaign but a project against the revolution, and that the agents must be made known. A second deputation was sent, and it was instructed not to return without obtaining this dangerous document. Finding the paper likely to produce a commotion, and fearful that some sentences in it might be perverted to inculcate those who had signed it, M. Blanchelande had now committed it to the flames; but upon the urgent demand of the deputies he consented to send a copy. The assembly was now confirmed in its opinion that the original paper contained the plan of a conspiracy, and the report spread rapidly that the aristocrats were plotting to effect a dissolution of the popular assembly, and drive all the patriots from St. Domingo. The proposition was now made in the colonial assembly—"Let us rid ourselves of the aristocrats, more dangerous to the colony than the insurrec-

* Dalmas.

tion of the slaves;" and a member ascended the tribune, and after a long and abusive speech moved that M. Blanchelande be deprived of his office and sent home to France. This proposal was hailed with enthusiasm, both in the house and galleries, and a crowd rushed to the residence of the governor general, and almost dragged him to the bar of the assembly, when the president communicated to him the decree which had been just passed. The governor general replied, that in conformity to the wishes of that body he was ready to give up his authority and return to France.

When this usurpation on the part of the assembly became known abroad, it was received with indignation by all the more respectable classes. A large body of young men, the sons of planters and citizens residing at Cape Francois, united themselves to all who were the friends of M. Blanchelande, to demand of the assembly that its decree of the day previous should be rescinded; and when the question came up for consideration they filled the galleries of the hall of the assembly, and urged that the decree should not only be rescinded but struck from the journals of that body. The patriots both within and without the assembly were overawed by this boldness, and M. Blanchelande was not only restored to his authority, but it was decreed that "he had never ceased to merit the confidence of the people." The friends of order were completely triumphant, and within twenty-four hours after he had been deposed from his office the governor general was carried in triumph to the assembly amidst cries of "Vive le general!" "Vive M. Blanchelande!"

The evidence is strong that at this epoch there were attempts in preparation among the larger proprietors to make use of some vigorous measures to stop the progress of disorder among the whites, without which they plainly saw that nothing could be accomplished against the insurrection of the slaves. Whatever a political body is *accused* of designing it is pretty sure of making it its aim to effect. The outcry raised against the opponents of the patriots from their suspected hostility to the French Revolution, was undoubtedly founded in some degree of truth. The great planters, who had every thing to lose by the continuance of the disorders kept up by the revo-

lutionary phrenzy of the *petits blancs*, could not be expected to array themselves against the lawful authorities of the colony, from whose unfettered rule they derived all their hopes of restoring tranquillity to the colony and subordination to the slaves. The *petits blancs* on the other hand looked forward to great rewards, which, if they could overturn the settled order of things, were to be the price of their unremitted zeal and unflinching exertions in the cause of the revolution. Their opponents, though they limited their efforts for the present to bring about a restoration of tranquillity to the island, looked nevertheless with marked disapprobation upon the new phase disclosed by the revolution in France, and loyalty to their king made them abhor the notions of a republic, which now prevailed among the exalted theorists of France. So decisive was this feeling, that it was even in contemplation to display the white flag in the province of the North,—and it had already been planted in various places throughout the South. The mulattoes were disposed to maintain the continuance of the ancient regime, and had little wish for change further than to gain a melioration in their political condition; and they still preserved the same friendly feelings towards the executive government of the colony which had animated both to unite against the *petits blancs* at an earlier epoch.

Discouraged and alarmed at the concordats and alliances with the mulattoes, which were multiplying on every side, the colonial assembly dared every measure which afforded it a hope of breaking them up. This turbulent assembly had now driven from the island the French commissioners, who had come and labored to restore it to peace and harmony; it had insulted and deposed the governor general, and procured the transportation of almost all the military commanders in the colony. It now began to perceive that its infatuated measures had effected nothing to restore tranquillity to the country; and almost besieged in the place of its sitting by the victorious insurgents, it grew affrighted at the evils produced by its own legislation. The troops, whose arrival it had by turns desired and dreaded, had come only to die. Fourteen battalions of the line had fallen victims to the climate, or to a service as destructive as the climate. Disappointed in

what it had sought to effect the assembly had already lost all confidence in itself, when there came another decree of the National Assembly, of the 4th of April, which annulled the two others, and gave occasion to new exertions and renewed discord. The colonial assembly now manifested a disposition to bring about a union between the whites and mulattoes; but the latter had conjured up a fiend which would not be laid at their bidding. The pride of the assembly was at last reduced to caress the enemy it had so lately scorned or defied; but the time had passed in which either caresses or defiance could succeed in restoring tranquillity.

The governor general, and the remaining French commissioner, Roume, now embarked for Port au Prince, to carry intelligence of the new decree, which they fondly trusted was to be made subservient to the establishment of perpetual order, by making it easy to persuade the mulattoes to peace, and by securing their assistance in subduing the insurrection of the slaves. When they learned that the Council of Peace and Union was still continued at St. Marks, all their hopes were turned to that quarter for valuable coöperation in the present emergency. All the parishes about Port au Prince sent their deputies to renew the old concordats, or to frame others more adapted to the particular epoch. The new decree of the National Assembly was hailed as a measure which would establish a more durable union between the two colors; and animated by this hope delegates arrived at St. Marks both from the northern and southern provinces. M. Blanchelande and M. Roume landed at St. Marks amidst acclamations of *vive le roi*; but notwithstanding the professed readiness of the mulattoes to be reconciled to the whites, they were firm in supporting their old demands, and refused to relent towards those enemies whom they knew to be implacable.

The mulatto delegates in the council of peace and union would not engage the coöperation of their caste against the rebels but on condition that the town of Port au Prince should be reduced to obedience—the immediate dissolution of the provincial assembly in session there—the transportation of the most violent of its members, particularly M. Borel—the disbandment of the irregular

troops in garrison at Port au Prince, and the restoration of the mulatto troops to their cantonments in that place. The governor general and M. Roume yielded to these conditions, and arrangements were immediately commenced to carry them into execution. M. Caredeux, grown weary or frightened at the troubles that surrounded him, seized upon this occasion to adopt a conduct conformable in all respects to his determined character. Abandoning all his property in the island, he embarked at Port au Prince with sixty negroes for the United States. He was succeeded in the command at Port au Prince by one who was worthy of following in the footsteps of such a predecessor. This was the marquis de Borel, who had passed from Cape Francois to the Mole St. Nicholas, where he found an element congenial to his lawless character. The remnants of his force of retainers and every vagabond in the whole colony seemed to have congregated in this distant parish, and the town was under the authority of a municipality composed of the most noisy and ferocious patriots. The reign of disorder and riot was still farther augmented when M. Borel and his band of freebooters arrived thither. The houses of the soberer class of citizens were searched—public stores in dépôt at the Mole St. Nicholas were pillaged—vessels were taken from their commanders, and all officers, civil and military, who had been lawfully constituted such, were dispersed or murdered.

Among the families which the troubles of the time had driven to expatriate themselves from St Domingo, though at the price of an immense fortune, was that of M. Mollet, a planter of the plain of the Artibonite. He with his wife and brother-in-law, M. Guiton, had already embarked for the United States, when an accident happening to their vessel forced them to enter the harbor of the Mole St. Nicholas to refit. From this moment they were devoted to certain death. They were accused of favoring the cause of the mulattoes, and reproached for belonging to a parish which had consented to the Concordat. These were made the prettexts for their denunciation, for they were not the friends of M. Borel, and more than this they had made the mayor of the municipality their enemy by not paying sufficient adulation to his vanity.

They had with them a considerable sum in money, with which they intended to form an establishment in the United States. Their own fate was prefigured in the treatment of two mulattoes whom they had among their domestics. The sight of them appeared to madden the patriots, who pursued them even to the cabin of M. Mollet, and one of them, who fled for shelter to a berth of the vessel, was dragged forth with oaths the most frightful, and murdered before the eyes of his mistress. The other was conducted off to prison, where he was shown on the one hand torments and death, if he refused to comply with the wishes of his persecutors, and on the other life and rewards the most tempting, if he would betray his master. The mulatto for a short time remained firm, but in view of the cruelties in preparation for him, his fortitude at length gave way, and he acknowledged his master a counter-revolutionist. A file of soldiers were now sent aboard by the municipality to make prisoners of the passengers in the damaged ship, and in the search which was instituted for the discovery of evidence to condemn them, the money of M. Mollet and M. Guiton was discovered, and the intelligence told abroad among all the ruffians then gathered at the Mole St. Nicholas. The outcry was immediately raised that the prisoners were two aristocrats engaged in conspiring against the revolution, for which they merited a summary death. The municipality did nothing to allay this fermentation, and by ordering the vessel to sea it might have removed its cause. The papers of M. M. Mollet and Guiton had been examined and though nothing treasonable had been found among them, they were still held in durance aboard their own ship, while depredations were carried on from day to day upon their effects aboard in jewels, furniture or plate. But they still preserved their lives, and held in safety the sum of eighty thousand francs, for both of which the ruffians thirsted, and to gain their end the latter now had recourse to management. The vessel was less strictly watched, and the visits of the banditti were less and less frequent, until at last they were stopped altogether. At a moment when the prisoners had just begun to feel more security, and to encourage themselves with the hope of eventual deliverance, four of the boldest of the bandits

came off to the vessel by night, and invited M. Mollet and M. Guiton to accompany them ashore, affirming that they spoke in the name of the municipality, who were then ready to grant them their passports; and the hypocrisy was successfully practised of manifesting a lively sympathy with their misfortunes. M. Mollet, the least suspicious, was the first to listen to this tale of perfidy, but M. Guiton hesitated on taking a step which appeared to him one of danger, though after urgent persuasion from his brother-in-law he consented to accompany him. They entered the boat and cast loose from the vessel, but instead of proceeding toward the ordinary place of landing, they saw with terror that they were crossing to a distant part of the harbor. One of the victims demanded the reason, and was answered hesitatingly that such a course was necessary in order to avoid the populace that was assembled on the shore. The boat at length landed, and the two prisoners sprang ashore and resigned themselves to the decrees of Providence. They soon discovered that their route did not lead to the centre of the town, where the municipality held its sittings, and in the darkness of night attended by such companions, they were alive to suspicion and inquietude. Resolved to know the worst M. Guiton stopped, and demanded whither they were leading him, when the nature of their attendants began at once to appear in all its ferocity. Threats and even violence took the place of deference and prayers, and surrounded by four bayonets ready to be thrust into them upon the least noise, the two victims were forced along by their executioners. They now arrived at a place where a larger party of the banditti were in waiting for them. At the sight of their prey already placed within their power, they broke forth into every sort of outrage and imprecation, in the midst of which a monster stepped forth, and plunged a dirk into the heart of M. Mollet. M. Guiton was less happy—he grappled with his murderers, and in the struggle which ensued was pushed to the verge of a rock which overhung the sea. Here he plunged into the water, and notwithstanding his great loss of blood managed to keep himself afloat, and had reached a boat lying near the shore, when one of the assassins, who had followed him hither, cut off his hand with a sabre and pushed him

back into the water, where he was drowned. While these things were in execution another party had proceeded aboard, and informed madame Mollet that her presence was required by her husband and brother at the municipality. Hardly had she landed on the shore when she was abandoned by her conductors, and after wandering about in the dark for a long time, at length arrived at the Hotel de Ville at ten o'clock in the evening. Here all was dark, and the building was closed. Half distracted with terror and anxiety, she rushed forward to the house of a relative, and fell down in insensibility. The property aboard the ship thus fell an easy prey to the marauders, who had not hesitated at such means to obtain it.*

After the inhabitants of Port au Prince had chosen M. Borel to succeed M. Caredeux in the government of that town, they despatched the ship *Agatha* with a dozen smaller vessels, to transport their new general in chief and his band of followers to Port au Prince. M. Borel, of whom it has been justly said that to him laws were but spiders' webs, sailed from the Mole St. Nicholas without a clearance. When off St. Marks he was hailed by M. Grimoard, commander of the naval forces in that place, and as he had nothing to manifest the lawfulness of his cruise, it was suspected that he was about to make the seas the scene of his depredation, as he had made the land, and he was seized and conducted into St. Marks. M. Blanchelande immediately threw him and his followers into prison, but when this conduct of the governor-general was known at Cape Francois, the colonial assembly hastened to plead the inviolability of its members in all cases, and to demand that M. Borel should be set at liberty. M. Blanchelande after some hesitation determined that it was necessary to release him, and M. Borel departed to take upon himself the command of Port au Prince. This arrest of the favorite of the patriots was a fatal measure both to M. Blanchelande and M. Grimoard, for they were denounced for it to the National Assembly, and brought to the scaffold for having so incautiously infringed on the liberty of a citizen of France.

Port au Prince, thus weakened in its resources by the late defeat of Praloto and the loss of M. Caredeux, was

* Dalmás.

in a situation of helplessness which even discouraged such a man as M. Borel, when he saw entering its harbor the fleet under the command of M. Fontanges, to put the town under a close blockade. At the same time Rigaud commenced an attack upon Fort Bizoton, and general Beauvais, from the direction of Croix des Bouquets, was advancing on the place. The French commissioner, Roume, was in the latter column, having crossed the country for twenty leagues with a small escort of sixty mulattoes without being attacked by the rebels—a strong proof that there existed an understanding between the blacks and mulattoes. The French commissioner was treated with the highest respect by the mulatto officers, and general Beauvais told him with the frankness of a soldier, “that the mulattoes had never been really duped by white cockades. We knew,” said he, “that we should have at last to wrest our rights by force from our opponents—we had need of auxiliaries, and had the devil himself offered us his aid we should have enlisted him into our ranks—and that is the reason why we employ these black gentry.”* Port au Prince, finding itself completely powerless against its enemies, who surrounded it on every side, surrendered itself at discretion, and the united forces of the whites and mulattoes took possession of the town. M. Roume and M. Blanchelande wishing to please the mulattoes ordered the arrest of the principal leaders in the faction which had ruled the town, both civil and military, and they were sent to France, together with the regiment of Normandy, whose services were so much required in the colony. Praloto was also put aboard a vessel to be transported to France, but he was seized when off Arcabaie by the mareschal of that district, who of his own authority put him in a boat, loaded as he was with chains, and before he had proceeded far towards the shore stabbed him with his own hand, and threw the dead body into the sea.

A new order of things being thus established at Port au Prince, Roume in his real or imaginary fear of a counter revolution, engaged himself in busy personal efforts to secure the assistance of the mulattoes against it; and to be ready to act promptly he determined to remain in Port

* Lacroix.

au Prince, until new commissioners arrived from France. In this state of partial armistice, measures were put in execution to bring about the return of the slaves about Port au Prince to their respective plantations. These measures, however successful they might be in their immediate object, offered a dangerous example in the existing condition of things. One hundred manumissions were furnished to the parish of Croix des Bouquets, and to that of Arcahaie one hundred and forty-four others, which were bestowed upon the principal chiefs of the negroes, on condition that they should serve five years as *gens d'armes*, and maintain discipline among the slaves. These two hundred and forty-four freedmen scattered themselves over the country, and by their prompt success justified the hopes which had been founded upon the policy.

Roume was thus left to preserve Port au Prince and its neighborhood in subjection to the late pacification, and M. Blanchelande made his way towards the province of the South, which was still in a state of war. From the first origin of the troubles which had afflicted the island the mulattoes of that province had armed themselves, and by turns victorious or in misfortune, they had under all changes maintained themselves in a state of effectiveness under the guidance of their great chief. This was André Rigaud, a man of many reverses of fortune, who in all conditions, however, had continued unchangeable in his hatred of white prejudice and usurpation; nor were his relatives left far behind him in the same feelings. A letter from his brother Augustin had been made public at Port au Prince. "The parish of Aquin," said this unhesitating champion of his race, "has just accepted the treaty, but it will convey no security while men are so malignant. The blow is ready to be struck at Cayes and every where—take care of yourself—quit the town—encamp in the country—kill, pillage and burn; there is no safety for you—our enemies must not profit by their perfidy—I fly for vengeance, and if I am not destined to perish in this enterprise, I shall soon return to join you. Form your encampment and we shall conquer all the brigands who would otherwise cut the throats of all the mulattoes and reduce them to slavery—vengeance—ven-

geance—I embrace you—my last word is vengeance on these savages. Fly to the succor of your slaughtered brethren—hail liberty—equality—love.”*

André Rigaud, who had been just recognised as general by the French commissioners, and who had been for a long time regarded as more than a simple general by the mulattoes, was not so openly violent as his brother, though he was no less to be feared. When told of the cruelties of his compatriots—cruelties which a single word from one of his all-potent influence might have arrested, he was accustomed to exclaim, “My God, what a thing the people is when in a rage.” He was as to the expression very right, for the war between the whites and mulattoes was marked with atrocities even more revolting than that between the whites and blacks. The laws of morality and nature were all outraged by it: fathers strangling their sons, and sons plunging their bloody hands into the yet living vitals of their fathers. In their mutual ferocity they were often heard to exclaim, “you kill mine and I will kill yours.”†

* Lacroix. † Ibid.

CHAPTER VI.

Coalition of Grande Anse—negro insurrection in the plain of Aux Cayes—expedition of M. Blanchelande against the rebels—his defeat and return to Cape Francois—new decree of the National Assembly—arrival of the new commissioners, Santhonax, Polverel, and Ailhaud at Cape Francois—clubs of that town—riots and the forced departure of colonel Cambefort—campaign against the negroes—Commission Intermediaire—successes over the rebels—attack made by the commissioners upon Port au Prince—Rigaud sent against the whites of Grande Anse—arrival of the new governor, M. Galbaud—contest between him and the commissioners—his arrest and confinement in the harbor—attack made upon Cape Francois by M. Galbaud—the commissioners arm the blacks—complete destruction of Cape Francois and the flight of its inhabitants—the commissioners make overtures to the negro chiefs—attempt to assassinate Rigaud at Aux Cayes—proclamation of liberty to the blacks of St. Domingo by the commissioner Santhonax—ruin of the hopes of the planters—overtures made to the English—an English force seizes upon the western coast.

M. Blanchelande hoped by his mission into the South, and through the agency of the decree of the 4th of April, to induce the mulattoes not only to make peace, but to unite their forces to the whites to extinguish the rebellion in the North. But he was deceived—he could excite no enthusiasm, more especially when he was suspected of speaking a language not his own. He had formerly stigmatized the mulattoes as a bastard race, and enraged them by former acts of contempt or hatred; and when he spoke of past mistakes, of common errors, and urged the danger there was of arousing the slaves to insurrection, he did not appease the resentment of the mulattoes, or succeed in rallying to his standard a single follower.

He had first passed from Port au Prince to Jeremie, to make peace between the whites and mulattoes in that district. The white planters of Jeremie, and the four parishes adjoining, had formed themselves into a league offensive and defensive, which they denominated the Coalition of Grande Anse. They had an executive council to manage all the affairs of the confederacy, and protected by their remote situation, they had separated themselves

entirely from the colonial government, and saved themselves from the disorder which was reigning in all other parts of the colony. They made war on their own account, and its cruelties were the more atrocious that they fought against an enemy which was connected with them by close relationship. The mulattoes had thus far murdered all the prisoners whom they had succeeded in capturing in battle, and they carried on a war which for a time was as successful as it was ferocious, under the guidance of a rich mulatto whose name was Noel Azor. But at last they were forced to yield to their enemies, as the council of Grande Anse had overwhelmed them with a vast superiority of numbers, by daring to arm their negroes and send them into the field as auxiliaries. Thus when in all other parts the negroes who were in arms at all were arrayed against the whites, and in various places were in direct alliance with the mulattoes, those of Grande Anse were fighting in the ranks of the whites and against the mulattoes. The forces of the latter found themselves unable to make head against this heterogeneous alliance, and those of them who had not fled to places of concealment were taken prisoners and confined aboard prison-ships in the harbor of Jeremie: this cautious severity being extended even to women, old men, and children.

When M. Blanchelande arrived at Jeremie he was assailed by the cries of these prisoners, who were clamorous for their liberty, and by the asseverations of the whites, who positively refused to accord to the mulattoes the benefits of the late decree of the National Assembly, and proposed a middle course for the disposal of those captives whom they retained in their power. This was to send them as prisoners to Cape Francois, to be employed against the insurgents of the North, and this plan in the exigency of the case was finally adopted. But the colonial assembly of Cape Francois saw the arrival of these new recruits to their standard with downright alarm, as they deemed the number of mulattoes in that province already too great for their own security; and their alarm was changed to indignation by new hostilities commenced by the mulattoes in their very neighborhood. Those of Port de Paix, encouraged by the concessions which had been wrung from the whites by the hostile attitude assumed

by their brethren of Port au Prince, had formed an armed confederation, and demanded a Concordat for themselves. But they were less fortunate than their compatriots of Port au Prince. They were surrounded by the forces of the whites, who had called to their aid a detachment of the 41st regiment of the line, and the mulattoes were completely subdued at one blow. Two hundred of them were sent off to Cape Francois as prisoners of war, and placed by order of the colonial assembly aboard prison-ships in the harbor, where they were kept in close confinement.

M. Blanchelande had been solicited at an early period of his tour to visit the town of Aux Cayes. The population of this place, incited to action by the machinations of the provincial assembly, was in full fermentation, and clamorous against the new decree of the National Assembly. This popular vengeance against the mulattoes was the more likely to lead to dangerous consequences, as those of the South were in almost all places in direct or secret correspondence with the blacks, and like their brethren in other parts of the colony, with the single exception of Grande Anse, they were the master spirits of the slave insurrection. M. Blanchelande, though as yet undetermined what course to adopt for the pacification of Jeremie, hastened on nevertheless to Aux Cayes, where he was received with the highest honors. He had been accompanied in his journey by Rigaud in person. Through the persuasion of M. St. Leger, that chief had been sent some months before as a delegate to the provincial assembly of Aux Cayes, to propose the adoption of an arrangement between the whites and mulattoes of the South similar in its nature to that which had taken place at Croix des Bouquets. But his mission did not succeed. The Assembly would not listen to his proposals, and the natural consequence had followed in a negro insurrection among the mountains of La Hotte, which was not yet subdued, but was carrying devastation and ruin to the very gates of Aux Cayes. M. Blanchelande besought Rigaud to make use of his power to arrest this rebellion. The mulatto chief, conscious of the difficulties in the way of disarming those by mere moral effort who were savages with arms in their hands, and who were as inaccessible to rea-

son as they were open to suggestions of fierceness, excused himself from the attempt by stating to the governor general that the late decree did not offer a sufficient guarantee of rights to the mulattoes to make them unanimous among themselves—a condition that must exist before their united strength could be secured to act against the rebels, and that an insufficient warfare employed against them would serve no purpose but to spread their depredations still farther, and endanger plantations and settlements as yet untouched. M. Blanchelande listened to this advice, and in the exigency of the case resolved to employ his personal negotiations, instead of the sword. But the provincial assembly of the South raised an outcry of indignation at such lenient dealing with slaves in arms against their masters, and the governor general was obliged to abandon this policy. This assembly carried its folly and imprudence to a point as far as any of its contemporaries. It reproached the governor general for admitting mulattoes to his table, and accused him of having recourse to this means in order to secure their aid in his designs of bringing back the ancient order of things, and sacrificing to his ambition all those valuable reforms which the revolution had brought to the colony. The assembly was obstinate in refusing to comply with the demands of the rebel negroes, who after the example of Croix des Bouquets desired to have three hundred of their number emancipated as the price of the submission of the remainder to their masters, and it addressed a formal demand to M. Blanchelande that he should disperse the rebels by arms; intimating to him that he had forces at his disposal which were more than enough for this purpose, if he would unite to the troops of the line all the whites of the neighborhood and “his friends the mulattoes.” This was true if these different forces could have been brought into the field to coöperate with each other; but when every exertion had been made the governor general had failed to collect a force which was sufficient for the exigency. Urged on by others, M. Blanchelande undertook the expedition against his will, and signified to the assembly his fears for the result.

The insurgents appeared to have been apprised of the intention to attack them, for strong ambuscades were found

placed in every defile through which the forces had to pass to arrive at the summits of the highest chain of La Hotte, where the negroes were posted. Upon this point three strong columns, consisting of more than fifteen hundred men, were ordered to march simultaneously. The 6th of August, 1792, was appointed for the day of attack. The right column found itself attacked in a defile by swarms of the rebels, and under their furious assault the detachment was nearly destroyed and compelled to retreat. The second column was prevented by a multitude of obstacles from coming up to the support of the others; and being assailed on all sides by a continued fire of musquetry, and by rocks rolled down from the mountains above, was forced to retreat also, leaving one hundred of its number dead in the line of its march. The third column lost time which was precious, in attempting to draw a heavy cannon over ways which were impassable—and this also experienced in its turn a complete rout.

M. Blanchelande was informed of these disasters by the exultation of the rebels, whom Rigaud had just driven into their camp. After some moments spent in parleying, the negroes raised in this camp a white flag dripping with the blood of the unfortunate men who had been slain by their fire—and by the side of this expressive ensign the rebels showed another still more horrible; the head, namely, of Col. Doyle of the Berwick regiment, noted for the singular beauty of his hair. The negroes were so near in their elevated camp, that their shouts could be distinctly heard—and cries of “vive le roi, vive M. Blanchelande,” were mingled with exclamations of defiance or hatred of the whites. Finding the object of his visit unattainable, M. Blanchelande decided to return to Aux Cayes, and he was overtaken on his way by the fugitives of the third column, who communicated their affright and disorder to the feeble detachment around the governor general. The cannon was abandoned, and in attempting to force along a loaded waggon the troops did not themselves make sufficient haste. The victorious blacks came up with them, and attacked them with great slaughter. Great numbers were killed or wounded, and the troops could not be rallied but under the very walls of Aux Cayes. Thirty-three proprietors who had followed

M. Blanchelande to the field, and a party of mulattoes under Rigaud composed the whole force which now kept up the appearance of resistance, and Augustin Rigaud was already wounded. "I recommend to the care of the assembly," said M. Blanchelande, "all the wounded, and to its indignation all the wretches who abandoned us." He needed not to invite more hatred upon himself, as after this unfortunate expedition the most bitter and most unjust reproaches continued to follow him to the very close of his career.*

M. Blanchelande soon after this quitted the south to return to Cape Francois; but he had not succeeded in raising a single man to accompany him. All who had arms found sufficient use for them at home while their property and families were in constant danger of attack from the negroes. The latter were in fact complete masters of the country, and as in the North nothing but the towns remained in possession of the whites.

The desolating progress of the insurrection was stayed for a time in the plain of Port au Prince, and the flames of the revolt now burned with less fierceness in the north, from mere want of materials to be consumed. Avarice, which bursts through all laws, human and divine, had even established a source of profit from the insurrection. An active contraband trade was now carried on by the inhabitants of the Spanish frontiers, by whom the negroes alleged that they were armed for God and their king. In exchange for the rich productions of the French territory, these merchants in rebellion furnished the insurgents with provisions and munitions of war. For money it has been alleged that the rebel chiefs were put in possession of the persons of whites who had taken refuge for their lives within the Spanish territory; and when in want of money these same chiefs sold every thing without scruple—goods, beasts and negro children—belonging to the different plantations which had fallen into their power.

Rumors were at this time prevalent in France, that attempts were in progress to make the colony of St. Domingo independent of the mother country; and a sweeping panic had overspread the mercantile world—for enormous debts were due to the commercial towns of France from

* Lacroix.

the planters of the colony—and they had arisen from the following source : Credit at home had been alone necessary to insure immense wealth by planting in St. Domingo. Large tracts of unoccupied land were held by the government at a low price;—and when a portion had been obtained by purchase or other means, the buyer was furnished on credit with all sums required to pay the expenses of forming an establishment. The planter, when this had been accomplished, could realize a revenue of twenty or thirty per cent a year, which left a vast profit after paying the interest on his loan. When no losses had been sustained by the occurrence of accidents, this productiveness of capital was sufficient in a few years to extinguish the original debt. But to such an extent had luxury and prodigality grown upon the planters, that this debt was never wholly liquidated in all cases, and commercial liability in France often continued as an heir-loom to the richest plantation. The conduct of the assembly of St. Marks; the recourse had by the assembly of Cape Francois to foreign aid against the rebels; the arrival in England of avowed agents from the coalition of Grande Anse, and the anti-revolutionary proposals made to the mulattoes, were confirmations strong to the French merchants that intrigues were in action, the consequences of which might be fatal to existing contracts with the mother country. The National Assembly, which had by turns been assailed by the demands of philanthropy and prejudice, was now much more so by those of interest. Influenced by these, the National Assembly had passed by acclamation its decree of the 4th of April, which expressly declared that mulattoes and free negroes should enjoy the same rights in the colonies as did their fellow-citizens, the whites; that elections should be immediately held to form a new colonial Assembly,—and all mulattoes and free negroes were declared capable of voting, and eligible to all offices. It was further ordered, that the king should appoint three commissioners, to proceed immediately to St. Domingo to regulate the affairs of that colony;—that they should be furnished with power over the colonial assembly, and authorised to call out the public forces whenever they deemed it necessary. The assembly decreed to send a sufficient military force into the colony—

to appropriate six millions to be expended in the necessities of the island; and it ensured the debts due from the colony to the merchants of France. M. Blanchelande was recalled, to be arraigned on the charges of his enemies, and the government of the colony was conferred on M. Desparbes.

The multitude of laws made by the National Assembly to regulate the colony are proofs of its anxiety in relation to it, though by their contradictory import they were the cause of much evil. The colonists had been too often deceived by false appearances, and were in reality too much discouraged and in despair to be inspirited with confidence by new enactments—and no one dared to hope. The decree gave rise to a long debate in the colonial assembly, which terminated in a resolution to submit to it when it had been officially made known. Soon after this six thousand troops arrived at Cape Francois under the orders of three commanders, destined for the three different provinces of the island. Accompanying the expedition were the three new French commissioners, Santhonax, Polverel and Ailhaud, who immediately after their landing showed their investiture with unlimited power, and proceeded to inquire into the nature and opinions of the colonial assembly. They received the fullest assurances of obedience, which they answered by solemn declarations that there were in future to be recognised in St. Domingo but two classes—freemen, of whatever color, and slaves. This produced some effect, and should have forever united the proprietors of the island, especially when they saw the attitude of the insurgents, who, emboldened by long success began to consider themselves strong enough to encounter a whole army; and the parade of a proclamation for all to unite to extinguish the rebellion, had no effect with these bandits—upon whom something more was necessary than menaces.

Instead of falling upon the negroes, sword in hand, and overwhelming them with troops fresh from Europe, the commissioners engaged in a round of petty details—spent their time in learning the dialect of the country; listening to mutual complaints from the heated zealots of each party—in a contest with M. Blanchelande, whom they sent to France under arrest—in carrying on intrigues

with the municipality and populace of Cape Francois, and in dissolving the colonial assembly, of which they nevertheless declared that apart from its prejudices it had no faults but those inseparable from an ardent patriotism; and though sometimes turned from its course by popular agitation, it owed all its errors to its hatred of tyranny.

The two political parties had long since become definite in their principles and designs, and those who were denominated aristocrats were only so from their being the antipodes of the patriots, or disorganizers. The troops lately arrived had already been assailed by the insinuations of both—and many of them seemed well disposed to listen to the intrigues of the aristocracy, who by their efforts to stem the tide of popular phrenzy had laid themselves open to the charge of having no sympathy with the revolution. It was thought that they were counting for success in their hopes upon the coöperation of the mulattoes and free negroes, who had ever been ranked with them, from the alliance which had always subsisted between them and the larger proprietors, and which had often been turned against the enterprises of the petits blancs. But the mulattoes openly refused to aid in any project against the revolution, for the alleged reason, that since the late decree had established their equality with the whites, they could not now consent to shed the blood of their brethren. At the time of the arrival of the commissioners these two parties seemed for a moment ready to unite themselves in their common resentment and alarm at the consequences which it was foretold would follow the execution of this new decree. A letter had been written from Paris by an agent of the colonial assembly, stating that “all was lost, if these commissioners were not resisted even from landing in the island;” and the writer advised “the intrepidity of despair.” But the French commissioners soon after they landed plainly manifested that all their sympathy was on the side of the patriots; and this open partiality completely disarmed the latter from all hostility against their new compatriots. On the day after their arrival the commissioners proceeded to the church, where they took the oaths of fidelity to France and St. Domingo; and each disclosed his doctrines and policy in a speech which breathed of the revolution.

and put all at rest as to the dreaded interference with slave property.*

The clubs of Cape Francois were still in active existence; and one of them, headed by one Thibaud, was a rallying point for all malign spirits, and by its violence and recklessness had become the terror of the town. Its sittings were crowded with all the dangerous agitators of the time, who hoped from the chaos of change and revolution which they made their element, to derive to themselves a world of profit and exaltation. Revolutionary doctrines were discussed and carried to an extreme of absurdity, and decrees expressive of the sublimated notions then in vogue were solemnly passed. Every day flags decorated with symbols and maxims of menacing import were displayed from its place of session, and cries of "vive la nation," and "a la lanterne tous les aristocrates"—together with songs of "ca ira" and "allons, enfans de la patrie," constituted the materiel of their patriotic enthusiasm or joy. Dreading the consequences to which these proceedings might lead, the soberer part of the population endeavored to array an opposition by getting up a meeting of the whites and mulattoes. The latter, grown vain with triumph and their new importance in the state, carried their pretensions to such ridiculous extent, that two hours were spent in devising a name which would suit the taste of these new citizens instead of their old appellation of mulattoes. But at last the object of the meeting was thought to be attained, when a petition was decreed to M. Desparbes that immediate measures might be taken to have the negroes reduced to obedience.

On the 17th of October a motion was made in the club to seize M. Cambefort, commander of the regiment of Cape Francois, and hang him to the next lamp post, because, as was alleged, he had resisted the will of the people. But it was easier to order this measure in the sittings of the club than to carry it into execution, as the residence of Col. Cambefort was near the quarters of his regiment, and the resort of all the military officers and good society of the town. Still this daring conduct of the club gave rise to much anxiety, particularly when it was known that lists of proscription had already been made out by the

* Dalmas.

leaders of the mob, and M. Desparbes was petitioned to go to the commissioners and demand the suppression of the club. Santhonax immediately gave orders to this effect, and the doors of the club were closed. On the following day the agitators together with the municipality met in the church, and the departure of Col. Cambefort from the colony was resolved on.

On the morning of the 19th of October the drum beat to arms, and the troops of the line paraded immediately before the house of Col. Cambefort, and the patriots were gathered in numbers in the streets. When M. Assas demanded of the drummers wherefore they were beating to arms, he received for reply that they were beating by order of the people. M. Desparbes was no stranger to these events which were passing before his eyes, but he put forth no energy to prevent them. He was more than seventy years old; and the timidity and torpitude of age passed with him for prudence. The patriots had already gained possession of the arsenal, when he ordered the regiment of the line to march to the Place d'Armes. The tidings soon came that the patriots were advancing thither, with several pieces of cannon. M. Desparbes, instead of maintaining himself against this disorder, ceased to give orders, and repaired to the residence of the commissioners. The latter had before manifested that they were not much disposed to resist the rabble, whom they termed the people; and now, being in possession of the person of the commander-in-chief, they coolly sent a message to M. Cambefort that he must proceed aboard a vessel in the harbor. But being wrought up to enthusiasm by an address from M. Tousard, the soldiers of the regiment of the Cape expressed themselves determined to follow their commander. Santhonax harangued them in vain; but by making use of seduction and promises, the patriots succeeded in appeasing them, and obtaining their return to their barracks.

The mob now surrounded the house of Col. Cambefort, and even the commissioners could not restrain their fury but by stipulating that he should embark, together with all who wished to accompany him, at three o'clock in the afternoon. The crowd then proceeded to attack the corps of mounted volunteers of young men, which, from its be-

ing drawn from the ranks of the aristocracy, and from its firmness in overawing their movements on some previous occasion had rendered itself particularly obnoxious to the patriots. In the uproar and confusion of the *melée* which followed, the commander of this corps, M. Cagnon, was killed by a pistol shot, and a thousand outrages were committed upon the dead bodies of him and two others of the troop who had lost their lives in his defence. The others were compelled to fly; and being pursued from place to place many of them were killed, and their houses pillaged of all they contained; and those who survived the massacre were obliged to quit the country.

At the hour of the embarkation of Col. Cambefort the whole population seemed in arms, and presented a force sufficient to have put down the insurrection in a fortnight—drums were beating amid uproarous outcries of “*vive la nation*,” “*vive le constitution*.” M. Cambefort, attended by Santhonax, and followed by his family and suite, proceeded to the seashore through streets lined with soldiers, and escorted by a strong guard, which conducted him aboard the *America*.

On the following day the club recommenced its sittings, and all who would not join in its opinions were placed on its lists of proscription. Polverel said, “the revolution to be salutary must be total.” Officers of the line were denounced, and forced to give up their commissions, and their places were filled with the progeny of the revolution. Even the ships in the harbor had to undergo regeneration, and the command of that naval station passed to other hands. M. Desparbes, feeling himself to be a nullity in the government to which he had been appointed, gave up his commission and embarked for France. All office was now the reward of the patriots, to whom their late triumph had given a complete ascendancy. It was proposed in the club of Cape Francois to hang one of the prisoners aboard the *America* for every new outrage committed by the negroes in the plain. For the first time in the colony to be called a jacobin was esteemed a mark of honor in the estimation of those who aspired to the appellation, and the signal of persecution and proscription to those who refused it. Learned discussions were held on the formation of society and the nature of government, and

vanity, presumption and impertinence were never carried to greater excess.*

The new reinforcements from Europe were now farther augmented in numbers by the arrival at St. Domingo of eighteen hundred soldiers from Martinique, who had been shipped off as being in the way of the plans of the governor of that island, who was then occupied in a project to stay the excesses of the revolution within the limits of his jurisdiction. The commissioners now possessed a sufficient army to have crushed the insurrection in one campaign, but they made the repression of the revolt quite a secondary object, and the troops perished in inaction, scattered among a multitude of little posts under pretence of greater facility in procuring provisions for their support. During this time they were sinking under the pestilential influence of the climate, and within two little months from their arrival half their number was already dead.

After all other things had been arranged to their mind, the commissioners commenced a campaign against the rebels by marching the corps of Gen. Rochambeau upon the parish of Ouanaminthe. The negroes fled before it, and as if the territory had been forever secured against them, Rochambeau returned to Cape Francois to make a triumphal entry into the place. This pompous expedition, which was productive of so little eventual profit, served but to increase the boldness of the rebels, who soon as they found that they were not struck dead before an armament which they feared was about to sweep them from the face of the earth, received an instant accession of hope, and now from the highest chief to the most stupid field-negro, they all counted on certain success, if they continued their resistance for a little while longer. The troops had returned to the town to publish their prowess, and the negroes poured back into the plain to give every thing which remained there to the flames and the sword.

After the departurè of M. Desparbes and his officers, the commissioners instead of availing themselves of their supreme power, in order to restore tranquillity and harmony to the whites, made themselves chiefs of a party, and made use of their influence and authority to sow ha-

* Dalmas.

tred and division among a people already in a state of utter anarchy. They coöperated with the populace of Cape Francois in its plans of proscription, which were aimed at all those who had made themselves conspicuous for their attachment to the ancient state of things. At length the commissioners separated, each to administer the affairs of a province in the colony. Santhonax remained at Cape Francois, Polverel embarked for Port au Prince, and Ailhaud proceeded to Aux Cayes. But the latter, not feeling himself endowed with sufficient energy or will to accomplish the objects had in view by the commission, soon after embarked for France, leaving the whole colony to the rule of his colleagues. "Divide and reign" was the motto which guided the policy of Santhonax and Polverel. They had been engaged in caressing the patriots, those mortal foes to the mulattoes, and they now, to maintain an even balance, began to conciliate the latter, not only recognizing them as citizens, but filling vacancies both in the civil and military departments by appointments made from that caste.

The colonial assembly had been dissolved, and now the whites demanded an election to form a new legislature for the country, in obedience to the decree of the National Assembly : but instead of yielding to their wishes the commissioners established a sort of secondary power between them and the people, to which they gave the name of Commision Intermediaire. It was composed of twelve members appointed by the commissioners themselves, and six of these were whites and the remaining six mulattoes. To this body of functionaries was more especially entrusted a supervision over the finances of the colony. But the two castes would not act with harmony together, although they were both of them creatures of the commissioners, and should have been actuated by the same spirit of loyalty to their patrons. In the course of a discussion which took place upon a subject connected with the finances, opinions were divulged which breathed a spirit contrary to the professed principles of Santhonax. The latter, indignant at this display of independance among those whose very office he had created, invited the refractory members to a supper given at his house, in the midst of which they were seized and sent as prisoners

aboard a vessel in the harbor. The six white members of the Commission Intermediaire had found their influence completely annulled by the countenance given by Santhonax to the pretensions of their mulatto colleagues. The vanity of the mulattoes, always inflammable, being now enkindled by their late enrolment into the class of citizens, and the position in which they now stood as the avowed favorites of the French commissioners, had become so excessive as to increase in a hundred fold proportion the hatred and abhorrence with which they were viewed by their old opponents, the whites. They were advanced by the commissioners to offices in the army to the exclusion of whites, or without passing through the intermediate grades, and the troops looked upon their own situation with disgust, placed as they were under the command of officers taken from a caste which they had in derision. A mob of citizens and sailors, united with the soldiers of the regiment of the Cape, made an open attack upon the mulattoes, who upon a certain occasion had refused to coöperate with them. A fire of both cannon and musketry was opened by the combatants upon each other, and in the contest thirty men were killed, and among the rest M. Assas, commander of the regiment of the Cape, who fell while endeavoring to effect the dispersion of the rioters. The mulattoes were subdued in the struggle, and compelled to fall back upon Haut du Cap, making prisoners in their way of those whites they encountered.

This affair frightened Santhonax, who in the midst of it ran to the Commission Intermediaire and gave in his resignation. It was not accepted, and the contest being now over he sent a message to the mulattoes, to attack when it was night the important post of Belair, and to keep as hostages those whites whom they had in their possession. He next issued a proclamation making the authorities of the town responsible for all events that might occur, and enjoining upon the municipality to hold a conference with the mulattoes for the restoration of tranquillity. The effect of this was the return of the mulattoes, and upon that very night Santhonax made a speech to them, in which he applauded their conduct, and assured them that resistance to oppression was a natural right.

This commotion affrighted Santhonax, who now began to suspect that he was depressing the better class of whites too low, and to conciliate the aristocracy as well as the mulattoes he sent some of his most vociferous partisans, who had been engaged in the recent strife, as prisoners aboard the *America*, among whom was Thibaud himself. This was the depth of policy, for even the patriots of the municipality might rage against the commissioner in vain, when he was supported in his measures by the higher class of whites, by the mulattoes, and those retainers of his own party, who with devoted fidelity were ready to lick the hand that was inflicting chastisement on themselves.*

The leaders in the riot were transported, and the commissioner availed himself of this occasion to rid himself of those who with all his efforts could not be reconciled to his authority. After this storm had passed over an interval of comparative tranquillity succeeded, during which preparations were made for a new campaign against the rebels. Those of the South were at this time completely dispersed by Gen. Hardy, who with but three or four hundred men succeeded in accomplishing what fifteen hundred had failed in attempting six months before. Gen. Rochambeau being now ordered to Martinique, the command of the forces in the North was given to Gen. Laveaux, who at the head of some young volunteers, and the remains of the battalions from France, obtained such brilliant success over the rebels as fully demonstrated how much greater it would have been if the campaign had been made at an earlier period. The camp at Tannerie, which commanded the entrance to the mountains of Don-don and Grande Riviere, and under the orders of Biassou in person, was carried by one assault, and the negroes were put to flight in all directions. After this signal success the troops of Cape Francois and Port au Prince made a combined movement on Grand Riviere, and the insurgents were nearly surrounded, Jean Francois having scarcely time to escape from his head quarters at a place called Pivoteaux, and the rebels thrown into utter consternation fled for shelter in all directions. Twenty of them were taken prisoners, among whom was a mulatto

* Dalmas.

named La Roche, who was decorated with a cross of St. Louis, and clothed in the uniform of a field marshal, the title of which he had assumed. All these prisoners were immediately beheaded. The negroes now completely despaired for themselves, and came in by thousands to beg for mercy. Among them there were many mulattoes, whom the incensed colonists wished to sacrifice to their vengeance upon the spot where they had surrendered themselves, but they were protected by Gen. Laveaux, who in imitation of the commissioners thought for a better purpose, sought to unite that class to the whites by a clemency which would excite their gratitude. The terror of the moment was so deep and extensive, that the negroes came to the camp of the whites in numbers which have been stated at fourteen thousand, and they besought their ancient masters to forgive their past misconduct.*

The insurrection seemed utterly annihilated, as there remained no place wherein the negroes could take refuge except the mountains of St. Susanne and Vallieres, the situation of which was such that they could not be surrounded. Gen. Laveaux sent in chains to Cape Francois the priests of Grande Riviere and Dondon, who had been the officiating chaplains in the negro camp, and upon whom the title of almoners to the insurgent chiefs had been bestowed. The indignation of the people against these men was such, that Santhonax could not appease the clamor but by making a public promise that they should be tried and punished as they deserved. The policy of the commissioner, however, led him to violate this assurance, and the culprits were saved from death to be made envoys to Jean Francois and the other rebels, whom it was now designed to bring back to their duty by persuasion. The Abbé de la Haye, though imprisoned for conspiring with the blacks and as accessory to their crimes, gained his liberty notwithstanding, and was received into the intimacy of the commissioner. He was a man of talent, who had written upon the natural history of the island in a work said not to be without merit; and filled as he was with impracticable opinions about equality, he had once addressed a document to the colonial assembly at Cape Francois in the course of which he treated the

* Lacroix.

claims of the whites without much consideration. Among the papers found upon his person there was a letter of Biassou addressed to him, in which it was stated that the chiefs of his nation had appointed him viceroy of the conquered country, and in consequence of this the Abbé was required to repair to Dondon for the celebration of a high mass and a solemn Te Deum; and it was requested of him to prepare a discourse to be delivered before the people, as well as to sketch out a system of policy for his nation, and a code of laws to govern them during the time which must elapse before they could receive those of Louis XVI. their king and only master. This letter was signed by Biassou and sealed with an impression of the fleur de lys of France.*

When the troops had ceased to act energetically against the rebels, they soon recovered from their momentary panic, and they ceased to come to implore the mercy of their conquerors from the moment they were no longer pursued by them. Safe in the fastnesses among the mountains of Vallieres and St. Susanne, they emerged from their hiding places by night, and even found means to pass all the different posts, and to renew their attacks upon the Haut du Cap, a place which had never been entirely cleared of their detached parties. But the insurrection had no longer such resources as formerly, and instead of being possessed of the means to spread its depredations over a vast extent of country, which it held without an enemy in the field, it was reduced to a petty warfare, maintained for existence merely, rather than for any hope of final success.

Just after this desirable result had been accomplished, a new event came to annihilate all the hopes which had been founded upon it. War was declared between France and Great Britain, and the condition of things which immediately ensued was in the highest degree unfavorable to the continuance of success against the negroes. While the sea was swarming with the English cruisers, the troops ashore could not be spared from the towns of the coast, to act with effect against the rebels in the interior, and all that had been gained by the late expedition was soon entirely lost; and among the whites themselves new polit-

* Lacroix.

ical convulsions were contributing their agency to make the state of things still worse. The marquis de Borel had by the consent of the commissioners been confirmed in the office which had been conferred upon him by the doting partiality of his brethren of Port au Prince. Though captain general of the national guard, he found the field of his ambition too stinted and narrow, and by his continual efforts to extend his prerogatives he brought on a quarrel between him and the marquis de Lasalle, who as senior officer in the colony had exercised the duties of governor general since the departure of M. Desparbes. After many manœuvres and some personal conflicts, Borel's usual audacity served him successfully, and Lasalle found himself obliged to abandon his office and seek the protection of the commissioners. M. Borel then published a manifesto, stating that opinions connected with the public safety had actuated him in the step he had taken, and in accordance with a wish which he expressed that a new colonial assembly should be constituted in conformity to the law of the 4th of April, he ordered of his own authority that the primary assemblies of the people should be held throughout his province. These were acts which savored of sovereignty, and to sustain himself in this new character by making a dazzling display of his importance in the state, he pretended to receive intelligence of a contemplated insurrection in the plain of Port au Prince, in consequence of which he ordered a detachment of troops under the orders of count Boutillier to proceed to Croix des Bouquets, which, though in its absence it had not fired a single gun, returned in a few days with the honors of victory. The gazette of Port au Prince, which was the mouthpiece of M. Borel, now informed the world that a formidable body of the rebels had been dispersed by this expedition, and more than fifteen hundred negroes had fallen victims to its prowess.* The real trophies of this campaign were comprised in the capture of two old men, chevaliers of St. Louis, who had been taken prisoners as they were hastening to the assistance of their captors. These were M. Coutard and M. Jumecourt, who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the people of Port au Prince by the friendship and alliance in which they had lived with the mulattoes.

* Des Colonies par Col. Malenfant.

The French commissioners were not duped by this seeming zeal and pomp of warlike activity in M. Borel, and they felt more vividly than he thought the assumption of power which threw their own greatness into the shade. Alarmed at this new aspect of things in Port au Prince, and at the occurrence of new troubles in the South, the commissioners assigned an interview with each other, in which to discuss the affairs of the colony, and adopt some settled course of policy, the definiteness of which would leave no room for difference of opinion and policy among themselves, as had been the case in relation to the tax called *Subvention*.

This was an impost, designed to relieve the necessitous condition of the finances of the colony. The present receipts did not exceed one half of the amount formerly paid into the treasury; and while this deficiency existed in the revenues, the expenditures had grown immense, and the credit of the country had been proportionably frightened from its propriety abroad. It was found difficult to negotiate its bills of exchange in France, though at a discount of fifty per cent. In this state of things some immediate measure became necessary to furnish supplies, and to this end nothing seemed possible but a direct tax upon property, always a hazardous policy in all governments where the institutions are at all popular. This was recommended by Santhonax and decreed by the Commission Intermediaire, while neither his colleague nor the people had any voice in the matter. The tax was denominated a *subvention*, or aid, and was exorbitant in its exactions, inasmuch as it swept one fourth of the whole revenue of the country into the public treasury. But the sums passed through such hands, that much of them was lost before they arrived into the public chest. Santhonax had been the chief agent in this measure so unpopular, and Polverel, when he had been informed of it, immediately issued a proclamation prohibiting its operation in the South; thus placing himself in direct collision with his colleague. But this was only a momentary and personal impulse, which was soon made to give way to the fixed system of their policy, as any deficient coöperation in the course pursued by either of them would afford advantages to their opponents which would be eagerly seized, and

employed efficiently against them. The commissioners therefore hastened to their interview, which took place at St. Marks, and was followed by a ready compromise of all dissensions existing between them. The fire of their common patriotisin now burned with new force within them. Te Deum was sung in gratitude for the happy event, which had extinguished their momentary estrangement from one another, and the subvention was extended over the whole colony. A proclamation was next published ascribing all the disorders then reigning in the colony to the partisans of the old assembly of St. Marks, "that faction sustained by the friends of the clergy and noblesse of France in the National Assembly, who in despite of law and out of friendship to the ancient order of things, had not ceased to provoke the ruin of the colonial system."*

After these things had been done, preparations were entered upon in earnest to take possession of Port au Prince, and drive M. Borel from his ill-gotten power. The national guards and troops of the line were ordered to assemble at St. Marks; but the armament was principally naval, and the fleet was joined off Arcahaie by Gen. Lasallé in the *America*, and at the same time that the forces of Lasallé were investing the place on the north, Gen. Beauvais with four or five hundred mulattoes was advancing on the town from the south. Meantime M. Borel was not idle in making his preparations for defence, and a decree was passed by the provincial assembly of the town making the commissioners responsible for all events which might happen. But the latter were not to be frightened by this fearful word in the vocabulary of the revolution, as they had already assumed all the responsibility of the attack. When all was ready for the assault the fleet entered the harbor and opened its fire upon the forts, which after a few volleys were completely silenced, and seeing no hope from continuing its resistance the town at last surrendered at discretion, and upon the 14th of April, 1793, the two commissioners made their public entry into the place. Gen. Lasalle was reinstated in his authority, but the investment had not been sufficiently close to prevent the escape of M. Borel and his adherents, who fled to Jacmel, whence they quickly embarked for

* Dalmas.

Jamaica. The brother of M. Borel and forty others of both sexes had been killed in the attack upon the forts of the harbor.

While this civil strife was distracting the South, the insurgents of the North were increasing in success and in courage every day, and the resistance to their ravages was at the same time growing less and less effective. A detachment of forces which had been ordered by Gen. Laveaux to drive the rebels from the Haut du Cap had experienced for the first time in that province a total defeat. The troops having advanced into a narrow defile were assailed by countless swarms of negroes, and were soon thrown into disorder and compelled to fall back to the nearest post, with the entire loss of their cannon and baggage. Col. Deprez, the commander, desperate at such ill success, and unable to endure the shame of retreating before a horde of negroes, blew out his own brains with a pistol. This defeat was a smaller misfortune in itself than in the consequences which it entailed on the country, and these were most disastrous, for it gave courage and confidence to the blacks, who now began to think they could never be subdued.

The commissioners, now masters of Port au Prince, were busily engaged in strengthening that place, to be safe from any future attempts to set their power at defiance. They gathered the mulattoes into a legion which was denominated *Egalite*, and invested with their fullest confidence the mulatto chiefs Pinchinat and Rigaud, whom they promoted to power which almost equalled their own both in extent and irresponsibility: and aided thus by the potent favor of the commissioners the influence of these men grew all but omnipotent with their castes. They were despatched by the commissioners to subject Grand Anse to obedience and conditions of peace; and it was hoped that their exertions might be successful in accomplishing this design without bloodshed. But the mutual estrangement between the whites and mulattoes of that district had grown too deep and wide to leave the possibility of a peaceable accommodation between them. The mulatto chiefs were as vain of their new grown power, and as domineering in spirit as the whites were proud, exclusive and sullen; and both were obstinate and totally

unyielding in their attitude towards one another. The whites, anxious for the consequences, when they saw the two great mulatto chiefs about to invade their territory, prepared for the worst, and abandoning their homes they all collected their families within their entrenched camp at Desriveaux. Both the whites and mulattoes had armed their slaves, and both parties considered the coming struggle as one for their very altars and lives. But the mulattoes were receiving reinforcements every day by levies drawn to their standard from every direction; and in this disparity of situation the whites decided to make an attack without farther delay,—and falling upon their opponents with impetuosity and at a favorable moment, they gained a complete victory over them, and taught Rigaud at his cost that it was not safe to drive to extremity those who had nothing but despair for their resources.*

The tidings of this defeat came to the commissioners on the same day that they had learned that their reputation had so fallen at Cape Francois, that both their private and public characters were made a subject of daily attack in the journals of that town—and that these were made by two civil officers whom they had themselves taken under patronage, and furnished with assistance and promotion. More than this: upon the 7th of May another governor had arrived at Cape Francois from France, to take upon himself the unenviable task of ruling the tumultuous population of St. Domingo. This was M. Galbaud, an officer of artillery, who had been sent to put the colony in a state of defence to secure it against the attack of the maritime enemies of France, whose cruisers were then swarming in the West India seas. In the absence of the commissioners, whose influence at the Cape had diminished greatly within a few months, M. Galbaud deemed the moment opportune to destroy their power altogether; for the fact was evident that the commissioners were true competitors with him for the government of the island, and that in the struggle which must inevitably ensue for ultimate ascendancy, either he or they must succumb.

The new governor was a furious republican, and he counted upon his political reputation for success in gaining to his support the populace of Cape Francois. After

having received the felicitations of the municipality and other authorities, he entered upon the exercise of his duties. The finances of the colony had grown no better, notwithstanding the subvention, and poverty and distress were prevalent evils both in public and private. M. Galbaud had brought with him the last subsidy from France, consisting of 1,800,000 livres, destined to relieve the present necessities of the island and assist in bringing about a better condition of things. The new governor found the scene of his power in a condition which afforded him little encouragement. Public credit was annihilated, and vessels from the United States refused to sell their cargoes except for immediate payment, and famine was beginning to add to the horrors of war. Every French vessel which ventured from the ports of the colony was captured by the English cruisers—the Spaniards were assuming a hostile attitude upon the frontiers—the negroes were triumphant in the plain and mountains, and the people were charging all these evils on their rulers, and these rulers in their turn were uttering recriminations against the people.* M. Galbaud found the path of his policy beset with difficulties, and unfortunately for him he adopted a conduct which, so far from turning the public indignation upon the commissioners, directed it all upon himself. While he was holding councils of war, which lasted for three days and terminated in nothing, and others were proposing universal bankruptcy as the readiest expedient in finance, the commissioners made their entry into Cape Francois in pomp and circumstance, with the municipality, the Commission Intermediaire, and the military commander of the North in their train. The mulattoes were all friends and associates of the commissioners, and they honored the return of their good patrons by marching in procession, crowned with branches of laurel. The commissioners opened the campaign against the governor by publishing a proclamation, which forbade the inhabitants of St. Domingo from yielding obedience to M. Galbaud; and supported as they were by the majority of the people they sought a thousand occasions to heap upon him all sorts of outrage and insult. Their victory was soon complete and decisive. The National Assembly, as if deter-

* Malo.

mined that St. Domingo should not escape being ruined by its legislation, had decreed that any person holding property in the West India colonies was disqualified from exercising the government of the place where his estates were situated. Availing themselves of this law, worthy of Jack Cade himself, the commissioners by a public proclamation deprived M. Galbaud of his office, on the ground that he was the owner of property in the island : and after waiting a short time for his departure from the colony, orders were sent to him to proceed aboard a vessel in the harbor, and to remain there a prisoner, with his family and suite. At the same time the brother of the governor, Gen. Galbaud, was arrested by order of the commissioners, and sent aboard the same ship, for having held an interview with a deputation from Gonaives, that had come to solicit the liberation of a man who had been imprisoned for some alleged political offence. The harbor and town of Cape François were now filled with sailors, who from frequent skirmishes with the now haughty mulattoes deemed them of all others the enemy whom they would most gladly combat. Availing themselves of this hostile feeling, the two Galbauds formed a design to regain their lost authority, by making an open attack upon the town, which, if it succeeded, would give them by right of conquest what they had been forbidden to hold by right of citizenship. Every thing conspired to favor the enterprise, as the presence of such a conspicuous victim to the tyranny of the commissioners had already fired the sympathy of his fellow-prisoners, and desire of revenge followed close upon enthusiasm. Agents of the governor were now busy among the crews, whom inaction and hatred of their enemies, the mulattoes, had made ripe for such an enterprise as that in contemplation. In a short space of time the train was laid to a magazine, and it waited but for a touch to overwhelm the town of Cape François in ruin, and finish the calamities of its inhabitants, by reducing them to utter poverty and expatriation.

This occasion was not long in arriving, as a pretext was offered to the contemplated attack by a quarrel which arose between an officer of one of the ships and a mulatto dignitary of the town. The sailors were bursting with indignation, when they had learned that one of their ship-mates

ment which was ferocity itself when they saw that their hated opponents were likely to gain possession of the town—and rage suggested to them a terrible idea. The chains of the blacks were dashed off, the prisons were opened, and all negroes in confinement for offences, as well as all the slaves of the town, amounting in number to six thousand, were armed and called to the assistance of the commissioners by the mulattoes. As if this were not enough, a message was despatched to the rebel chief Pierrot, to invite his assistance also, together with his hordes of savages. This was the signal for universal desolation. Thirsting for blood and pillage, these insurgents eagerly embraced the invitation, and rushed forward with a portentous impetuosity, while their hideous howlings and shouts of exultation rose far above the noise of the cannon and musquetry, and raised forebodings of horror which made every heart tremble.* A vast mass of people was seen rushing toward the sea-shore, to escape being massacred by the triumphant negroes; and in the next instant a crowd of these victims, in their haste to escape, was ingulphed in the sea. Every boat and plank in the harbor was crowded with others who had been more fortunate in finding something to assist their flight from the sword and vengeance of these ferocious auxiliaries of the commissioners. The town was now filled with their hordes, and the work of pillage and destruction had already commenced. An appalling outcry was soon heard that the town was on fire in several places. Great numbers of the inhabitants had by this time arrived in safety aboard the ships in the harbor, whence they viewed in anguish and despair the sad spectacle of their blazing habitations, and could distinctly hear the shrieks of their relatives and friends, who had remained to die by the sword of the negroes. Some in despair anticipated their fate. A rich merchant blew out his brains with his own hand; another destroyed himself by drinking poison, and a woman whose husband had just been murdered at her side, frantic with grief and terror, fastened her infant to her girdle, and leaped into the sea.*

Meantime the flames had grown to a mighty conflagration, and the town presented the picture of an immense

* Dalmas.

volcano. The flames having spread and communicated themselves to vast quantities of oil and pitch then in the store houses of the merchants, a column of dense smoke illuminated by a glare of flame immediately shot up to a vast height, like a torrent of lava from the crater of Vesuvius, while a cloud of sparks was driven before the wind, and fell like a fiery shower far in the distant country, whither great numbers of the miserable inhabitants had fled to seek places of concealment. Thus whites perished by the hand of whites, and in the bloody struggle for ascendancy among the agents of power, they consummated the ruin of the colony which they had been entrusted to protect. This most afflicting catastrophe, the offspring of hatred and recklessness, cost France many hundred millions—destroyed the brightest gem of its prosperity, and annihilated the hopes of many millions who lived upon the riches of St. Domingo.*

On the following day the governor wrote from his vessel to the commissioner Polverel: "Among the prisoners made yesterday I find the son of citizen Polverel. My brother has fallen into the hands of the ferocious beings who are now burning and pillaging the town. Citizen Polverel wishes to see his son again, and I wish to see my brother—I propose an exchange." Santhonax, who had received this laconic letter gave it to Polverel, saying, "you are a father—do what pleases you, I consent to all." Polverel read the letter, and covered with his hands the tears that were running down his cheek, but he could not thus conceal his despair and desolation. He wished to speak, but sobs stifled his voice, and after a momentary struggle he pronounced, to the astonishment of all, these interrupted words: "I adore my son—I feel that both his situation and mine are painful. He must perish—I make him a sacrifice to the republic. No, I will not thus defame him. My son was taken bearing words of peace to the rebels—Galbaud was taken in arms against the delegates of France. There is no similarity—whatever may be the fate of my son I will never consent to exchange him for one who has violated the laws of his country." Fanaticism is always contagious. One of the mulattoes who surrounded the commissioners exclaimed, "take one

* De Gastine.

hundred of us promiscuously—send us to the harbor to demand your son in exchange, and let Galbaud's vengeance fall upon us. He will like better to shed the blood of us who are his enemies, than to retain in profitless confinement a man who is innocent." Nothing could, however, overcome the real or pretended heroism of the commissioner, and both parties kept their prisoners; but they were not put to death after all, and Polverel, perhaps aware that this would be the result, seized the occasion to enact the character of a Spartan without endangering the life of his son.*

All farther negotiations becoming useless, M. Galbaud, who by means of the guns of the fleet still held possession of the arsenal and public magazines on the quay, availed himself of this advantage to destroy or carry off all the provisions or munitions of war which were then in dépôt: after which, with the ships of the line *Jupiter* and *l'Éole*, several frigates, and a multitude of smaller vessels, he sailed for Norfolk, in the United States, carrying with him a crowd of refugees, the miserable remains of the once proud population of Cape Francois, now penniless, and even without necessary clothing. The vessels, encumbered as they were with the wounded in the late conflict, and with more than ten thousand persons, both masters and slaves, were fourteen days at sea before they reached the shores of the Chesapeake. Soon as the vessels had weighed anchor their deposed commanders were restored to their power, and the crews returned to their usual habits of obedience and respect, of which they even grew more lavish after their late mutiny. These officers, though they had been retained as prisoners aboard their own ships during the attack upon the Cape, still manifested their sympathy for the miserable victims of revolution whom they had aboard: "Providence," says Lacroix, "did not forsake these exiles on their arrival into the hospitable land of liberty. The states of Virginia, the Carolinas, Pennsylvania, New-York, Massachusetts, and the federal government, all vied with each other in acts of generous hospitality shown to these outcasts from the land of their homes."

After the departure of the fleet, the negroes precipi-

* Lacroix.

tated themselves upon the arsenal, and to restrain their pillage and disorder the commissioners found it necessary to fire upon them with cannon,—a proceeding which was hardly sufficient to drive them from their prey. Amidst the smoking ruins of the town and the dead bodies which were festering in the streets, the commissioners proceeded next to proclaim “that it was the will of the republic to give liberty to all the blacks who had been its defenders in the hour of need, and who would in future take up arms against the Spaniards and all other enemies of France whether external or internal, and that they were in consequence equal to white citizens.” To prove that this equality was more than a name, the white inhabitants that remained of the population of Cape Francois were ordered to unite themselves with the negroes to clear the streets of the dead bodies with which they were encumbered. The misery and distress were too great that disease should not follow closely in their train. But a mortality which in seasons when the mind and condition are more at their ease would have filled the whole neighborhood with terror and anxiety, was now utterly disregarded, as a light thing amidst a wretchedness so extreme that death was an angel of mercy. Famine succeeded next, and the pinchings of want were felt more than the ravages of pestilence. There were no provisions in the town, and the crowds of negroes who had gathered to its pillage were almost driven from their work of ruin through the mere force of want. In the midst of this wretchedness, and of their new levies of auxiliary vagabonds, the commissioners knew not whither to turn, or what course to adopt to restrain the excesses of the latter, and overrule the movements of that dangerous ally which in an evil moment they had called to their assistance. They published another proclamation, which insisted “that the new freemen could not become good citizens of the state unless they connected themselves to their country by the ties of family—that permission was granted them to extend the benefits of the liberty they themselves enjoyed, both to the wives of their choice and to the children that might be born to them.” The commissioners flattered themselves that by this soothing policy they should be able to attach the negroes forever to their interest and

wishes, and thus create for themselves a ready means of supporting their power and subduing all their opponents. But the rebels were too ignorant or too stupid to reason upon the duty of "giving a bond to society," and the black has too little affection for his kind to be bound strongly by the ties of family: besides all which they were afraid that these new duties enjoined upon them by their patrons would oblige them to forsake a life of vagrancy, which they loved, and commence upon a life of toil, which they abhorred. One word from their chiefs calling them to pillage and vagabondage, was sufficient to annul in a moment all the lessons of the commissioners, and they were already beginning to desert in numbers, in consequence of their finding nothing more to plunder and destroy among the ruins of Cape Francois. The commissioners had great difficulty to retain the rebel chief Pierrot, whom they had appointed to the rank of general in their service, and they failed completely when they attempted to compete with the Spaniards in promises, titles and decorations, offered as inducements to other negro chiefs to come over to their standard. The Spaniards gave all that the French commissioners were able to confer, and beside all this allowed the negroes the liberty to rove in idleness and vagrancy, while on the other hand the commissioners were enjoining upon them to become citizens, and to labor in cultivating the soil. The event proved that the Spanish authorities were those whose acquaintance with the negro character and habits was the most intimate; for the African values idleness and plunder more than political rights, if those rights are made dependent on toil and sobriety alone.

The lieutenant of Pierrot, whose name was Macaya, was despatched by the commissioners to open a negotiation with Jean Francois and Biassou, for the reconciliation of those two dignitaries to the new order of things. But these chiefs seemed to be royalists, and would not hear of republicanism. Their reply was, "we cannot conform to the will of the nation, because in France every body is master; but we only obey a king. We have lost the king of France, but we are beloved by the king of Spain, who has never ceased to furnish us with aid, and thus we cannot recognize you as commissioners until

there is a king enthroned in France." Macaya himself returned no more to his employers, being secured forever to the Spaniards by their making him a marshal in their service. The Abbé de la Haye, through his influence with the blacks, obtained an interview between Macaya and the commissioners; but they found that the obstinacy of a savage was not to be overcome by artificial rhetoric and jacobinical forms. By calling him citizen general they could do little more than overwhelm his vanity and reduce him to silence, but they were not able to make their efforts effectual in separating him from the service of their enemies, who called him by the higher sounding title of his excellency, and attached him to their interest both by feelings of gratitude and religious fanaticism. To every new proposition his answer was a set speech, which he delivered on all occasions. "I am the subject of three kings: the king of Congo, who is the ruler of all blacks—of the king of France, who is my father, and of the king of Spain, who is the representative of my mother; and these three kings are the lineal descendants of those wise men of the east who, guided by a star came to adore the God-man at Bethlehem. If I array myself on the side of the republic, I may perhaps be obliged to fight against my brethren, who are the subjects of these three kings, to whom I have myself promised fidelity."*

Jean Francois and Biassou answered the secret overtures of the commissioners by an open proclamation of hostilities, and they followed up this decisiveness by an immediate attack upon the camp at Tannerie, and by breaking through the cordon of the West they seemed about to avenge upon the astounded commissioners themselves the destruction which the latter had brought upon the town of Cape Francois. Every thing was thrown into panic and confusion, and the troops saw with affright that the hordes of their new auxiliaries, instead of coöperating with them in their movements, were already raising occasional outcries of fierceness and menaces of vengeance directed against all whites. M. Neilly, who had been one of the friends of M. Galbaud, and who was of course no firm adherent of the commissioners, had abandoned his position which constituted the cordon of the West, and

* Lacroix.

had retired into the Spanish territory with all the forces under his command. Upon receiving intelligence of this defection the commissioners despatched one of their new officers, M. Bradincourt, who from a simple dragoon had been made a lieutenant colonel, to bring back the troops of M. Reilly to their duty and allegiance; but scarcely had he arrived at the scene of his operations, when he showed that his own fidelity was unsettled, by deserting the standard of his patrons and crossing to the Spaniards with the whole of the detachment which was under his orders. The commissioners felt this as the unkindest cut of all, and deserted as they were in their hour of need, not only by their lukewarm friends but by their most clamorous partisans, their discouragement verged closely on despair. But they did not yet give up all for lost. After giving a new organization to the negroes of Pierrot, which metamorphosed them into troops of the line, and still finding them incapable of discipline and dangerously prone to insubordination and revolt, with the double view of employing this turbulence and maintaining their own power, which they saw assailed on every side, they prepared an expedition against the Spanish frontiers. Polverel marched towards Port au Prince at the head of a strong detachment of mulattoes, prepared to sweep every thing in his route until he reached the Spanish frontiers, and Col. Desfourneaux, who was already in the field against Jean Francois, made an attack upon this negro, in which he succeeded in retaking from him the camps of Tannerie and Lesec. The expedition under Polverel against the Spanish frontiers, after a few instances of success over the enemy, was at last completely beaten at St. Michel, in attempting its grand attack upon the enemy's lines. The commissioners before they had separated had renewed their attempts to gain over the rebel chiefs to coöperate with them in the service of the republic; but the equality which they offered to Jean Francois, who already considered himself as grand admiral of France, and to Biassou, who was viceroy of the conquered country, had no charms to flatter the vanity of these dignitaries, compared with the multitudes of titles and decorations lavished upon them by the Spaniards. Spain made use of these means to sustain the war, and they were

means which she practised without hesitation or limit. Religious was added to political enthusiasm, and both were used unceasingly to stir up the passions of the negroes against the French, who were represented as a nation of regicides, without faith, religion or king.

Santhonax, who remained at Cape Francois struggling against the destiny which was ready to overwhelm him, who was without supplies, and in command of but fifteen or sixteen hundred troops, of all colors, among two or three thousand blacks, was appalled at the tidings that Jean Francois was marching to attack him, and making offers of freedom to all his countrymen who would come to join his standard. In despair at the prospect of losing that power, to preserve which he had already made such sacrifices, his recklessness suggested a remote hope that he might yet continue to rule in St. Domingo by the immediate adoption of a measure to make its overthrow more complete. On the 20th of August, 1793, he by a solemn act proclaimed that slavery was forever at an end throughout the French territory of St. Domingo, and that the blacks were all admitted to the full rights of French citizens. By this sweeping measure the commissioner hoped to secure to his support a majority of the negroes, and to carry affright to his enemies, both within and without the country. The North was already too wretched in its desolation to be made more miserable by this last calamity; but in the South it produced feelings which were unutterable, and Poverel, who was in the midst of the consternation and despair caused by this immolation of the colony for the purposes of a demagogue, could find no means to heal the misery around him but in arraying himself against the policy of his more reckless colleague. To moderate the fury of the proprietors, and to restrain the slaves from seizing by force those rights which Santhonax had proclaimed to them, but which their masters still refused them, he declared himself opposed to this hazardous measure, but in favor of a gradual emancipation. He embodied his opinions in a plan which he hoped would save the country from the universal vagabondage and perpetual massacre which it was known would follow if the proclamation of his colleague should be carried into effect. He proposed that one part of the negro pop-

ulation should continue to cultivate the soil, while another was to constitute an armed force to defend the country and preserve peace within its territory. When the avails of labor were divided between these two classes of warriors and cultivators the portions were to be unequal; for the soldier, encountering the dangers of war for the defence of his brother who labored in peace and security upon the plantations, was to receive an allotment of the produce, which was more considerable. This plan it was soon found impossible to carry into execution; its reasonings were above the comprehension of the blacks, and the white proprietors refused to give up their rich possessions on such terms. They preferred to run the risk of losing all rather than share their estates with their own slaves, and depend for future security upon a standing force of negroes, who would be more ready to make use of their power against the lives and property of their ancient masters than against their own countrymen or a foreign enemy. Thus these two counter proclamations of the commissioners served no purpose but to increase the troubles of the country.

Citizen Delpech had been appointed by the provincial assembly of Aux Cayes a commissioner instead of Ailhaud. Rigaud after his defeat by the whites at Desriveaux had found himself compelled to retreat with his legion of *Egalité*, and his retreat under such circumstances was not effected without obstacles. He was pursued by the confederates of Grande Anse to the very gates of Aux Cayes, and his troops were attacked without mercy under the very eyes of commissioner Delpech.

The civil discord which afflicted the South had been from the beginning altogether different in its character and objects from that which had been the original cause of the devastation and ruin which was now spread over the territory of the North. The claims and pretensions of the mulattoes on the one hand, and the sullen exclusiveness of the whites on the other, had constituted the sole springs of hostile movement in the former province, while the mulattoes were urging their claims to citizenship and political enfranchisement, by arming themselves in defence of their rights, the activity and talent of their great leader, Rigaud, had been the guidance and support

of their enterprise. He was hated by the whites in the same degree as they feared his all-powerful influence with his race, and the unyielding nature of his character, which gave firmness and consistency to his policy while controlling the interests of his brethren. Intrigue and craftiness could avail nothing against the designs of one who was ever upon the watch, and who had the means of counteracting all secret attempts against him; and open force in the field could not be successful in destroying a chieftain whose power was often felt, but whose person was seldom seen. Thus to accomplish a design which had been long in meditation, the whites of Aux Cayes were now secretly preparing a mine for Rigaud, which, though it was covered with flowers, and to be sprung by the hand of professed friendship, it was thought would prove a sure and efficacious method of ridding them of such an opponent, and destroying the pretensions of the mulattoes forever. It was proposed that the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille should be celebrated in the town by both whites and mulattoes, in union and gratitude. A civic procession marched to the church, where *Te Deum* was chanted and an oration pronounced by citizen Delpech. The Place d'Armes was crowded with tables of refreshments, at which both whites and mulattoes seated themselves. But beneath this seeming patriotism and friendship a dark and fatal conspiracy lurked, plotting treachery and death. It had been resolved that at a preconcerted signal every white at the table should plunge his knife into the bosom of the mulatto who was seated nearest to him. Cannon had been planted around the place of festivity, that no fugitive from the massacre should have the means of escaping; and that Rigaud should not fail to be secured as the first victim to a conspiracy prepared especially against his life, the commander-in-chief of the national guard had been placed at his side, and his murder of the mulatto chieftain was to be the signal for a general onset upon all his followers. But between the conception and the accomplishment of a guilty deed man's native abhorrence of crime often interposes many an obstacle to success. The officer to whom had been entrusted the assassination of Rigaud found it no small matter to screw his courage to the sticking place, and the expected signal

which he was to display in blood to his associates was so long delayed that secret messengers began to throng to him from all parts of the tables, demanding why execution was not done on Rigaud. Urged on by these successive appeals the white general at last applied himself to the fatal task which had been allotted him: but instead of silently plunging his dagger into the bosom of the mulatto chief, he sprung upon him with a pistol in his hand, and with a loud execration fired it at his intended victim. But Rigaud remained unharmed, and in the scuffle which ensued the white assassin was disarmed and put to flight. The astonishment of the mulattoes soon gave way to tumult and indignation, and this produced a drawn battle, in which both whites and mulattoes, exasperated as they were to the utmost, fought man to man. The struggle continued fiercely until the whites were driven from the town, having lost one hundred and fifty of their number, and slain many of their opponents. Tidings of this conspiracy flew rapidly in all directions; and such was the indignation of the mulattoes at this attack upon their chief, whose death had even been announced in several places as certain, that they seized upon all the whites within their reach—and their immediate massacre was only prevented by the arrival of intelligence that Rigaud was still alive.

After these transactions were over, there succeeded an interval of tranquillity, if that could be called tranquillity which was spent in making preparations to continue the war upon Jeremie. The three commissioners now held a conference at Port au Prince, to deliberate upon a plan to avert the evils likely to result from the proclamation of Santhonax. Polverel, who, however he might blame the precipitancy of his colleague, now that the deed was done showed himself earnest to adopt some measure to save the country from farther destruction. He persuaded the planters to concur in the policy of emancipation, and thus prevent the horrors of universal insurrection; and it was proposed to establish places of registration throughout the western and southern provinces, and to invite the inhabitants to enrol their consent to the emancipation of their slaves. The stern necessity of the time would admit of little reluctance in the planters to this spoliation of their fortunes—and the same people

who a few months before would yield no privileges to the free colored population of the island, now goaded on by hard necessity were forced to subscribe their consent to the emancipation of their slaves. The negroes of the South were appeased by this graciousness in their masters, and returned to their labors upon the neglected plantations. They began by planting provisions for their sustenance, to relieve the distresses of famine, which were beginning to press heavily upon them from the failure of importations from abroad. This act of emancipation produced among the white planters a revolution in political feeling. They no longer felt any attachment to France. They could not look with filial affection upon a mother country, whose infatuated policy had first sown dissension in her fairest colony—whose blundering legislation had given origin to party outrage, disorder and insurrection—and whose jacobinical emissaries had finished its ruin by arraying the different classes against each other, by encouraging rebellion and ministering to intestine war. These agents of discord had now crowned the summit of their madness and folly by destroying the relationship between the master and slave—thus placing a few thousand whites completely at the mercy of half a million of savages, who having already felt their own power could never again be restrained to duty but by physical force alone. The proprietors were now terrified or desperate for the future, sullenly rejecting all further aid from France, and yet unable of themselves to accomplish the preservation of their country. The free mulattoes, whom the last decree of the National Assembly had inspired with hopes of being made the associate of whites, were now dissatisfied that their political emancipation was to be shared with a race which in natural endowment they deemed as much beneath them as they considered the whites above them, from the position they occupied as the first of the classes of mankind.

In this universal discontent the planters of the South resolved to throw themselves into the arms of strangers. Interest, as well as hatred and despair, impelled them to seek the protection of a foreign power, through whose assistance they might restore prosperity to the country, and save their lives and property from the ravages of insur-

rection. From the commencement of the revolution many planters of the colony had shown themselves eager to solicit aid from England—and at a later period agents had been maintained at the court of St. James to conduct negotiations for this end.

While England remained at peace with France these proposals were of course unheeded, and no succors could be derived to the colony from that source; but upon the occurrence of hostilities, in the month of February, 1793, the occasion was immediately seized by the British ministry to accept the offers made to them by the planters of St. Domingo who were then residing in London. It was stipulated that the island should be put in the occupation of the English forces, on condition that assistance should be rendered by the latter to subdue the insurgent negroes, and restore order and the dominion of law in the colony. Orders were in consequence issued to Gen. Williamson, then governor of Jamaica, to send an armament across to St. Domingo. Intelligence of this movement soon reached the south of the island, and burst like a gleam from Paradise upon the gloom and wretchedness which prevailed there. The coalition of Grande Anse hastened to despatch an agent to Jamaica, with full powers to treat for the surrender of the island to the forces which were about to invade it. But little difficulty was found in the way of an arrangement where the two contracting parties were mutually benefitted by their own concessions, and consequently were so little disposed to offer objections to the terms. A treaty was readily formed, by which the planters of St. Domingo engaged to make over the colony to England, on the conditions, that protection should be secured—the island placed upon the same footing as the other West India possessions of the English, and that it should equally with them be subject to the laws of Parliament. Thus was the most valuable portion of the dominions of France about to pass into the hands of her great rival, as a natural result of the great state maxim that where protection is no longer secured to a country by its government, that country has the right, and must ever have the will, to transfer its allegiance to another power, or take its sovereignty within its own keeping.

The volcano of a revolution should at least illuminate

those whom it does not destroy ; but the established principles which usually guide human conduct seemed to exist no longer at this epoch of the French Revolution. They looked for human perfectability, when the worst passions of the worst of men were tearing out the very vitals of society. They deemed every successive constitution fabricated by the labors of their legislators as destined to be the wonder of future ages, when none of them survived a single year ; and they considered the colonial policy of the time as the height of human wisdom, when it had already wrought the utter ruin of their fairest colony, and thrown it into the arms of a nation that was the natural foe to France—while the vast majority of its population were living in a state of society in which the elements of disorder and anarchy were heaving in tumultuous confusion, like the materials of a world in the incongruous associations of chaos.

The effective force of the French commissioners consisted of the feeble remains of that army which had accompanied them to the colony—the great majority of the mulattoes and free negroes, and a melange of irregular troops, composed chiefly of revolted slaves, and of negroes taken from the prisons. There still existed in the North the hordes of Jean Francois and Biassou, who would acknowledge no master, either in the French commissioners or any one else. But all these forces were to be subdued by the English, whether they were united in their hostility or did battle on their own account ; and to effect this difficult conquest the whole armament which sailed from Jamaica was made to consist of less than nine hundred men, and the first division which arrived at St. Domingo, under the orders of Col. Whitelock, did not exceed seven hundred in number. This was a force altogether too small for the magnitude of the undertaking ; and when the dangers of the climate are taken into consideration it dwindled into a mere handful of men, sent to perish in an enterprise in which success was hopeless. The British administration knew too little of the difficulties in the way of their success ; and like the National Assembly of France, they estimated probabilities by a false standard, and based their policy upon assumptions which, from their being untrue, could not fail to make their measures eventuate in

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disaster. In reckoning upon the friendship and active coöperation of the white planters they judged aright; but in estimating the effective power of these colonists to be the same as at an earlier epoch, when all political strength resided in the ranks of that order, they erred widely and fatally.

All the preliminary arrangements having been made in advance, the squadron containing the English forces appeared off Jeremie, and soon after began to land the troops. The French met them with a joyous welcome, and took the oath of allegiance to the crown of Great Britain amidst the loudest acclamations of joy. Instead of encountering an enemy to combat, the English only found themselves among friends who hailed them as brethren, and vied with each other in acts of gratitude to their deliverers. Finding the whole coast of Grande Anse in a good condition of defence, and imposing in its attitude towards its enemies, Col. Whitelock proceeded to direct his forces upon other points of the island which remained unsubdued to the English arms. He sailed for the Mole St. Nicholas, and in gaining possession of the fortifications in that harbor he met with the same peaceful success as that which had secured to his forces the occupation of Jeremie. The strong fortress in the harbor was immediately surrendered to the English by its commander, who had become the personal enemy of Santhonax. The commissioner had been so imprudent as to denounce this man as a traitor to his country, because his exertions in a particular instance had failed in assuring the safety of certain persons who had been murdered in some of the disorders of that place. These strong fortifications, which had given to the Mole St. Nicholas the name of the Gibraltar of the Antilles, yielded upon the first summons to a force of one hundred men, all contained in a vessel of fifty guns. The forts were armed with two hundred cannon and furnished with two hundred thousand pounds of gunpowder, constituting the whole existing stock of the colony. In the meantime the town itself of the Mole did not surrender so readily—for most of its inhabitants were of opinions formed upon the republican model—and by their resistance much difficulty was thrown in the way of the English before they obtained possession of the town:

but at length this petty hostility was at an end, and the English forces were fully instated in their occupation of this strong port.* The white planters were not the only persons whose open or secret wishes were friendly to the enterprise of the English. The mulatto proprietors were equally with them dissatisfied with the measure of emancipating the negroes of the plantations; and many of them were earnest in their requests that the English should come to their assistance; and upon the arrival of these allies they were prompt in coöperating with them for the restoration of slavery in the island.

Santhonax was struck with amazement and consternation at the intelligence that the English had effected a landing in the colony, and having already united themselves with his enemies that they were ready to open a campaign against him. He flew to St. Marks, to do his utmost to break up this foreign alliance—but it was too late. When the mayor of that town was asked by the commissioner wherefore he had joined in an attempt against the interests of the republic, he replied that so long as the policy of the commissioners had seemed to him directed to the public good, he had shown himself ready to execute their orders; but when he saw already commenced a system of measures which were to annihilate every hope, he had arrayed himself on the side of measures which he thought would secure the safety of the lives and property of his fellow-citizens. But though many of his caste were foremost in the ranks of the invaders, the mulatto general, Beauvais, followed in the steps of Pinchinat and Rigaud, and would not enter into an alliance against the French nation. The English found but little effort necessary to gain for themselves an easy security along the whole western coast of the island. The towns of St. Marks, Arcahaie, Leogane, Grand Goave, and many towns of the South where the mulattoes held the ascendancy, communicated their adherence to the cause of the English. This wide sweep of defection drove Santhonax to exasperation, and he issued orders to his partisans that they should set fire to the towns which they found themselves unable to preserve from the occupation of their enemies. When tidings of this came to the ears of Polverel he was unmeasured in his condemnation of the ruinous policy of his

* Malo.

colleague, exclaiming, "Santhonax breathes nothing but flames, and flames follow him wherever he goes."

The continued successes of the Spaniards on the frontiers, at the same time that the English were securing themselves along the western coast, had driven the miserable remains of the army of the North to retreat before them, until the forces were all concentrated upon the towns of Cape Francois and Port de Paix, under the orders of Gen. Laveaux, who enjoyed likewise the empty title of governor general, as the successor of Gen. La-salle. The commissioners, in the faithlessness and universal defection around them, saw how severe was their misfortune in having lost the friendship of the whites and the sympathy and support of the mulattoes. In their hopeless condition they found themselves driven to exalt still farther the fanaticism of their new military chiefs; and as a substitute for better forces to secure the aid of their new auxiliaries—the emancipated slaves. They sought to sustain their power by spreading terror around their policy; but such means are seldom profitable to those who adopt them, except in some definite crisis, which none but the keenest sagacity can recognise. The guillotine was at this period a ready instrument to be employed for this policy, and it was erected at Port au Prince, and set in operation to perform its horrid offices. It had devoured but few victims before its farther use was suspended by opposition from an unexpected quarter. The negroes were shocked at its summary cruelty, and raised such an outcry against it that the commissioners were driven to have the hideous machine removed from the soil which it might, under circumstances more favorable to its employment, have turned to an Aceldama of blood.*

Forced from this policy, the next measure of the commissioners was to disarm all the whites and mulattoes whom they could command, and to place their arms in the hands of the negroes who had once been their slaves. Thus were the tables completely turned; and when the black was placed in a situation to lord it over his ancient master by authority of law, disgust and indignation drove the desperate whites and mulattoes to desert to the English by hundreds. The English were scattered along the

* Lacroix.

whole extent of the shores of Leogane, and their fleet held undisputed dominion in its waters; and while Santhonax was expending his most desperate efforts in rallying the population of Port au Prince to his standard, the English thought to dislodge the commissioner even from this position by menace and a display of their force. The fleet under Commodore Ford was ordered to drop down to Port au Prince, and a boat was immediately despatched ashore with two military and two naval officers, to hold an interview with citizen Santhonax. They were conducted to the house of the commissioner through a crowd which thronged their way, uttering cries of "Long live the Republic and death to all traitors." This military deputation demanded to hold the conference in private, but they were answered by Santhonax that the "English could have nothing to say to him in secret;" and the request was uttered, "That the officers should speak out publicly or retire." They then demanded in the name of their country that the town of Port au Prince should be forthwith surrendered to the British forces, who would then proceed to take it under their protection. "And your king would also take possession of the fifty-two vessels now lying in the harbor," was the sarcastic demand of Santhonax. To this it was answered, "that there now existed open war between the two nations, and in consequence these vessels would be regarded as lawful prizes." "Stop there," interrupted the commissioner;—"if we find ourselves obliged to abandon the town, you will get nothing but the smoke, as their ashes will belong to the sea as its portion." Shouts of "Vive Santhonax—vive la Republique," which at this spirited assurance burst from the rabble around the commissioner, informed the English envoys that their mission was fruitless, and they retired from the presence. On the following day the English commodore addressed a letter to the commissioner, repeating his demand for the capitulation of the town, and threatening, in case his terms were not complied with, to open his fire upon the place immediately. "Begin," exclaimed Santhonax, "our balls also are already heated, and our cannon in battery." Not intending at that time to make use of more than demonstrations of hostility, as another squadron was daily expected to arrive with rein-

forcements, the English commander at this reply weighed anchor and sailed out of the harbor, leaving the capital of the colony until success over it could be achieved with more effect and at less expense.

CHAPTER VII.

Revolt of the mulatto legion Egalite—capture of Port au Prince by the English—departure of the French commissioners—sickness among the English—massacre of French colonists by the blacks and Spaniards at Fort Dauphin—operations of Rigaud against the English—conquest of Tiburon—Distresses and heroism of Gen. Laveaux at Port de Paix—Treaty of Bâle—Repulse of the English at Leogane—Defection of Touissaint from the Spaniards, and his alliance with the French—his origin and character—made general of brigade—associated in the government of the colony—new commission from France to St. Domingo—disturbances and massacres at Aux Cayes—conduct of Touissaint toward those associated with him in authority—his negotiations with the English, and the departure of the latter from the island—mission of Gen. Hedouville to St. Domingo—intrigues of Touissaint against him—Touissaint's internal policy.

THE mulattoes, who still remained faithful to the cause of the commissioners, perceiving that their services had grown more valuable as the perplexities of their patron increased, became more than ever insolent in their conduct and exorbitant in their exactions of respect and consideration for themselves. They complained that no other appellations were in use about the camp but those of blacks and whites, and that citizen Santhonax had entirely ceased to treat them with the high distinction and fraternal regard with which he had so lately pursued them wherever they went. The military commander in the western province at this epoch was a rich mulatto whose name was Montbrun—a man whom Polverel had heaped

with honors, and raised to the first dignities of the state. His arrogance was wounded, and envy and jealousy took the place of confidence when he saw his friendship slighted, and that of Gen. Desfourneaux, his white rival, courted by the commissioners. It was with extreme suspicion that he saw the ranks of the forty-eighth regiment filled almost wholly with blacks—and his suspicion deepened to alarm when he reflected that this procedure might be designed as a ready method to keep down the ascendancy of his caste, and place it in subjection to a class of inferiors which it still despised. To counteract this real or supposed intention of the commissioners, Montbrun gained over the legion *Egalité* to sustain himself in his private designs to secure to his class their wonted influence in the state.

This legion was wholly composed of mulattoes and free negroes, unitedly denominated "*les anciens libres*." On the night of the 17th of March, 1794, this corps proceeded to attack the obnoxious 48th regiment, which, though taken as it was at an unexpected moment, marched out of its barracks in good order under a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, and taking the commissioners under its protection, retired to an outer work called Fort St. Clair. The blacks of the town, enraged at this attack, or eager for an occasion to pillage and destroy, fell immediately upon the unarmed whites whom they found in the streets and houses, and began the horrors of another massacre, and terror and death soon grew frightful on every side. Montbrun, who remained master of the field, sent a message to the commissioner that he would not answer for the life of a single white man, if the 48th regiment, as well as certain others whom he designated in the letter, were not instantly sent aboard vessels in the harbor to be transported to France. The alternative was hard, to sacrifice his most faithful adherents at a crisis when their services were most needed, but stern necessity made it impossible to resist the demand, and Santhonnax, to spare the farther effusion of blood, yielded a reluctant consent to the demand. The painful reality was now forced upon the commissioner, that the magic of his authority was entirely lost; and he whose power had just before been far above the laws had now become weak as

another man. He frankly told the little remnant of whites that remained, that he could no longer protect them, and he began in secret to grant passports to those who wished to proceed to Leogane to join the English. But here they but changed the scene of their wretchedness—for the English, suspicious of these new recruits to their standard from a consciousness of their own weakness, drove them from the shelter which they had sought, to encounter again the fierce dangers which surrounded them. The invaders were not displeased to see their enemies thus torn in pieces by their own hands, and the wretches whom terror had driven to an asylum among them were adjudged as spies, maltreated, or seized and thrown without pity to perish in the prison ships of Jamaica.*

When the other commissioner, Polverel, had been informed of these events, he hastened to Port au Prince to recal to their duty the two mulattoes, Montbrun and Pinchinat, but the united exertions of both him and his colleague were quite insufficient to maintain order and fidelity among such a population as that of Port au Prince at this epoch. They had launched the thunderbolt, but they could not direct its course, and they were themselves scathed by its violence.

At the latter end of May a strong squadron arrived to reinforce the naval armament of the English, having on board great numbers of those who upon the downfall of the ancient regime had fled from their estates in the island, but who now cherished the hope to regain them under the protection of a power that was to save the colony from farther change. It was now determined to seize upon Port au Prince, and while the English fleet came to anchor in its harbor, a column of land forces advanced from Areahaie, which, investing the town on the north, opened a brisk fire upon Fort Bizoton, under cover of which the troops embarked from the squadron upon the side of Lamentin. When night came on it began to rain in torrents, and during the peltings of the tempest the fire on both sides was hushed; but before this occurrence major Spencer had been ordered to land with eight hundred men to attack Fort Bizoton on the side of the land.

* Lacroix.

Amidst the darkness and confusion a company of this detachment advanced to a breach in the wall, and leaping in, bayonet in hand, they drove out the forces of the commissioners, and put that fort in possession of the English. Montbrun, who was there in person, when he espied the approach of the enemy's detachment, thought it a party of his own troops, who were coming in for shelter from the rain. "You are my prisoner," was the first salutation he received from the English officer: "Not yet," was Montbrun's laconic reply at the same time that he blew out the brains of his enemy. The arms and ammunition of the troops had now become so wet as to render them useless, and the darkness was so great that neither friend nor enemy were able to distinguish each other. The troops of the garrison were thrown into confusion upon finding themselves beset with enemies within their very walls: and believing themselves betrayed, in order to prevent their being taken prisoners they escaped out of the fort and retreated to the town.

After this misfortune to their arms, the commissioners, in consideration of the inefficiency of their forces and their insulated position, feared with justness that to protract their resistance farther might call down upon Port au Prince such disasters as had destroyed Cape Francois, and at this stage of the attack they consented to open negotiations for a capitulation: Not to arouse the blacks it was forbidden to fire a gun, and the negroes were kept in restraint from setting fire to the merchant ships in the harbor, that a means might remain to the white inhabitants to effect their escape.

The commissioners, accompanied by Rigaud, retired to Jacmel, under the escort of Gen. Beauvais with a feeble detachment of blacks M. Chambon, commander of the corvette *Esperance*, arrived at Jacmel a few days after the commissioners, charged with the execution of a decree of accusation which had been passed by the constituent assembly against the latter. Though furnished as they were with the friendship and powerful influence of Rigaud, and occupying a position whence they could defy the will of that formidable assembly, they trusted to their political reputation, and gave themselves up rather

than to continue in St. Domingo to struggle against hope.* But their fears of censure and punishment were destined to be exchanged for the complacency of public approbation. They arrived in France just after the fall of Robespierre, when a crowd of victims were languishing in the dungeons of Paris in consequence of a decree of the National Convention, which ordered the immediate arrest of all emigrants from the colonies who were then in France. Many of these unhappy persons had been driven from St. Domingo by the persecution of the commissioners, and the latter had executed their mission in a manner too conformable to the practices of the time to incur the displeasure of the rulers of the republic. The National Convention decreed the approval of all that had been done in St. Domingo by the commissioners, and ratified the unconditional emancipation of all the slaves of that colony.†

The English were now in full possession of almost all the western coast of the island, from the Mole St. Nicholas to Jeremie, and all those places which were held under their flag were in a condition of comparative prosperity. Agriculture was resumed, and a prosperous commerce, carried on with immense profits, made the population thriving and happy. Rigaud commanded at Aux Cayes, and still refused to ally himself with the strangers who were dominant in all places around him, or with the blacks, whose power was growing more and more confirmed in the North.

On the 3d of June the English sent a detachment of emigrant colonists to take formal possession of Port au Prince, and an officer of that legion proceeded immediately to Fort St. Joseph, where was gathered all the white population of the place, consisting of those who upon the surrender of the town had found it impossible to escape aboard the vessels in the harbor. They had fled to this fortress to escape from the cruelty of the blacks, who were left with nothing to restrain their ferocity. This emigrant officer, whose name was Beranger, had furnished himself with a list of the names which had become conspicuous among the patriots for hostility to the ancient order of things. He began with calling out

* Des Colonies par Col. Malenfant. † Clausson.

the names of M. Goy and thirty others in succession, whom as they came out of the gates of the fort he shot with a pistol which he held in his hand, and then threw their bodies over the ramparts, exclaiming, "Republican, make the leap of the Tarpeian rock." In this manner all the fugitives in the fort would have perished, had not Gen. White, upon being informed of the transaction, sent a detachment of English soldiers to stop the cruelty. Disgusted at this barbarity the English commander published a proclamation denouncing the conduct of M. Berenger, who was compelled to flee for his life. But his victims were soon avenged by the death of their murderer, who was drowned in attempting to cross a river at Jeremie.

It had been arranged between the English and Spaniards, who were acting in alliance with each other, though on different points of the territory, that the protection of England should extend over all places in the South and West, while to the forces of Spain was assigned the province of the North. The English were without an enemy to combat in the field, but their armament was in the act of being decimated by a more formidable foe than had been found in the people whose territory they had invaded. Immediately after the capture of Port au Prince an epidemic which had been somewhat disastrous to their forces in the preceding autumn, recommenced its ravages. The commander-in-chief had judged it necessary to secure his conquest by fortifying his lines and opening new entrenchments upon the heights which overlook the town. The soldiers were in consequence subjected to severe duty under a burning sun, and exposed by night to torrents of rain, and dews still more noxious within the tropics. Fatal disease was the consequence, which hurried the troops to bloodless graves by hundreds, and so sweeping was the calamity that scarcely a sufficient number could be found to mount guard and perform the necessary round of duty in the camp. A reinforcement of four regiments had been despatched from the windward islands, to succeed those who had perished in the malady, but disease had already commenced its ravages upon them before they had reached their scene of operations, and so fearful were these ravages that upon their disembarkation at Port au Prince their numbers hardly amounted to three hundred

men, and within the short space of two months there had perished of them forty officers and more than six hundred men.

While the English were suffering under this infliction of Providence, Spanish treachery was preparing a more horrible disaster in the North. The Spaniards, who held undisputed possession of the ruined and deserted plain of Cape Francois, conceived the design of recalling the emigrant planters who survived in other lands the ruin of their country, to return and establish themselves again in their ancient homes. Proclamations and promises of protection were despatched to the United States and Europe, to invite the return of emigrants from St. Domingo to their country and homes. Suffering the evils of poverty among strangers, whose charity was hardly sufficient for their numbers, these planters chose the desperate alternative of risking themselves again in a land so fruitful in horrors. Eight hundred people, the ancient inhabitants of Fort Dauphin, sailed from different ports in the United States, and crowded back to St. Domingo, solaced in their wretchedness by the hope that some portion of their wasted property might still be found, to afford them a sustenance less bitter than the crumbs of charity in a foreign soil. Hardly had they arrived to occupy the roofless and blackened ruins of their former habitations, when Jean Francois came to encamp his hordes of vagabonds around the place. The whites knew that these blacks were in the service of Spain, and no terror was felt at their near proximity to those who were under the protection of the same nation.

The negroes soon after marched into the town, and the Spanish troops were put under arms under pretence of a review. Every thing passed off in tranquillity, and after the celebration of high-mass the Spanish priest Vasquez came out of the church in full dress, to give his benediction both to the Spanish and negro troops, who were in line opposite to the church. The soidisant grand admiral, Jean Francois, approached reverently to kiss the hand of the priest, who was his intimate friend, and with whom he had spent the whole morning. At this moment a faint whistle was heard, and the Spanish and negro troops divided themselves into small parties, and filed off

into the different streets of the town. A scene of carnage now commenced. These parties scattered themselves over the whole place, stabbing in silence every white Frenchman whom they could find in the streets or habitations, or surrounding them in groups they suffered not a soul to escape. The streets were literally running with blood, when the cannibals proceeded next to pursue their victims into their houses, where they continued to murder them in secret. None were spared—men, women, children, and the aged, all perished, with the single exception of fourteen persons, who saved their lives by clothing themselves in the Spanish uniform, or pretending to be dead among the heaps of bodies in the streets. This massacre, which had been arranged with minuteness at the confessional of father Vasquez, effected the destruction of more than a thousand French. In the estimation of this treacherous and revengeful priest these victims were but murderers and regicides, although many of them were women and children, and all of them had derived their birth from a land situated thousands of miles from the sacrilege and murders of the French revolution.

Amidst the universal ruin which had overwhelmed all other places in the colony, the single parish of Borgne had sustained itself without change, though all the rich districts around it had long been mouldering in desolation. Within three years the insurgent negroes had extended their ravages over the whole extent of the northern province of the colony, and they were now masters of every town on that coast, not excepting Cape Francois itself, and still the single district of Borgne remained well cultivated and prosperous. But what had escaped the torch and knife of the rebels was destined to fall a victim to the malign nature of Spanish protection. The inhabitants when left to rely upon themselves had preserved their plantations from destruction and their slaves in subordination by sleeping on their armor: but when they listened to the syren promises of the Spaniards, they gave themselves up to a feeling of security, and relaxed from their warlike exertions. But at a moment when they least expected it a conspiracy burst forth among their slaves, who had hitherto remained in peace upon the plantations. The Spaniards manifested their indifference or coöpera-

tion in what was passing by making no effort to arrest the rebellion, and the whites of Borgne were given up to massacre without an order being given to stay the hand of the savages who were murdering them. The Spaniards, exempt themselves from the ferocity of their allies, had no commiseration for those who were falling ingloriously and unarmed before the knives of the insurgents. Meantime the view of new conflagrations called forth other hordes of insurgent negroes from the surrounding country, to participate in new scenes of pillage and destruction. They were always ready to pour themselves in masses upon places which afforded a hope of booty, and when engaged in this work their ferocity became exalted into absolute phrenzy.

The inhabitants of Borgne who had escaped the first attack made upon their habitations, were unsuccessful in their attempts to put down the insurrection, and they lost at one blow all that attached them to life. They were forced to disperse themselves in all directions; and some fled to the sea shore, where they embarked in boats, to perish by hunger, or be drawn by the current into the open sea and be engulfed in its waters. The blacks, finding no longer any French whereon to exercise their cruelty, turned their fierceness upon their allies, the Spaniards, and a whole detachment was cut in pieces before it could recover from the surprise and consternation into which it had been thrown by the attack. This should have taught the Spaniards to reflect upon their remorseless policy, and the danger of arming a horde of savages to coöperate in war with civilized troops: but such was the blindness of their hatred and malignity that they were occupied but by one single object—the extinction of the French creoles of St. Domingo.*

When the commissioners had abandoned Port au Prince they gave orders to Montbrun to rally the remains of their forces and direct them on Jacmel; but this was within the territory of Rigaud, and that chieftain was not pleased at the presence of an army of observation, which might be made to act with formidable effectiveness against himself. Besides this, Rigaud was indignant at the conduct of these troops while engaged in the cause of the com-

* Lacroix.

missioners at Port au Prince, and to remove their leader out of his way he arrested Montbrun and sent him to France.

Meantime Gen. White had found it necessary to return to Europe for the establishment of his health, and he was succeeded in the command of the English forces by Gen. Hornbeck. This commander possessed a multitude of resources in his own courage and military science, and they were all required in the critical situation in which the progress of events had placed his army. So great had been the ravages of disease, and so few and small had been the reinforcements which had arrived to replace those who had fallen its victims, that the forces of the English had dwindled to a mere handful. While this weakness still continued, the mulattoes of Aux Cayes under Rigaud had gained sufficient organization and confidence to commence operations against the English on the offensive. Rigaud had exerted himself with an activity which was indefatigable, to prepare a system of hostilities which would finally subdue the invaders, and to him is to be ascribed the origin of that guerilla warfare which more than any other efforts of their own has been so effectual in enabling the blacks of St. Domingo to maintain themselves against the armies which have been sent against them. Seconded by Beauvais and Petion, and invested as he was with unlimited control over the hearts of his followers, Rigaud grew to be a formidable enemy of the English. The impetuous activity of his movements seemed to annihilate space, and he was continually pouring his detached parties upon every exposed point along the whole coast occupied by the foreign invaders. His justice was summary with all those whom he convicted or suspected of treachery and alliance with the enemy, and every mulatto or white colonist taken in a red coat was immediately led forth to execution. But while this capacity for war raised him in the estimation of his adherents, his inflexible temper increased the multitude of his enemies, the bitter effects of whose vengeance he lived to experience.

A furious attack was made on Leogane, and the English garrison of that town was completely defeated, and all the French and mulattoes found in its ranks were

made to undergo Rigaud's usual severity. Encouraged by this success the indefatigable chieftain resolved to wrest Port au Prince from the occupation of the English. At the head of two thousand men divided into three columns he made an attack upon Fort Bizoton; but here success did not equal his hopes or preparations. The assault was repulsed by the English, and great numbers of the mulattoes were slain in the conflict. After a series of petty attacks, with a variety of fortune on both sides, the English forces had in a previous campaign gained possession of Tiburon, carrying the works at last at the point of the bayonet. Rigaud, far from being discouraged at his late misfortune before Port au Prince, now commenced preparations to recapture Tiburon. On the 23d of December he sailed from Aux Cayes with a considerable fleet which he had forced into his service, consisting of a sixteen gun brig and three schooners, each mounting fourteen guns, and containing in all a force of three thousand men of all colors. He arrived at Tiburon in a few days and commenced the attack immediately. The English garrison, amounting in all to less than five hundred men, most of whom were French colonists, showed no backwardness in the defence. For four days the battle continued almost without a moment's interval, and three hundred men having been already slain in the works, the small number which remained, most of whom fought with certain death before them in case they were captured, resolved to cut their way through the enemy and endeavor to gain the open country. The sortie was made with an intrepidity before which the mulattoes were compelled to give way, and a passage was thus opened through the ranks of the enemy, and the garrison succeeded in gaining a place called Irois, at the distance of five miles from Tiburon. Rigaud's loss was considerable, but he remained in possession of the place, which was important to him from the facility it afforded him to act with vigor upon other points.

Sir Thomas Brisbane, at the head of about eighty English and a thousand French and mulatto troops, was now engaged in military operations in the plain of the Artibonite. The insurgent negroes were driven from that rich district, and the mulattoes of St. Marks who had

attempted some hostilities were defeated and forced to engage themselves to remain neutral in the contest. But while the English commander was following up his successes in the interior, and had left St. Marks with a garrison of but forty English soldiers, the mulattoes, violating their promises, recommenced their hostilities, and falling upon the town massacred all whom they regarded as enemies of the French republic. The small garrison of English maintained themselves in the fort until they were taken off by a frigate coming from the Mole St. Nicholas. To check these hostilities in his rear, Sir Thomas Brisbane returned in haste to St. Marks, and recaptured the town from the mulattoes. But by this movement he lost all the advantages he had previously gained in the plain of the Artibonite, and the negroes returned to their prey with renewed eagerness and activity in their spoliations.

The English, diminished as they were in numbers, and surrounded with a variety of enemies, found their conquest on the point of being lost with the same rapidity that it had been acquired. As if their troubles were not enough from open enemies, treachery was busying itself in their very ranks to undermine their power. After the mulattoes had been driven from St. Marks by Sir Thomas Brisbane, a conspiracy was formed in that town among several French colonists, who, though they were in actual league with the English, united themselves to compass the death of this officer. But their projects were discovered in time, and no disaster resulted from them, but the fearful consciousness which burst upon the English, that in addition to multitudes of open enemies which were swarming around them they had other foes equally bitter in their hostility, and much more dangerous, as they were of their own household.

Another conspiracy, of a character still more dangerous, was discovered at Port au Prince within the space of a month after that of St. Marks had been defeated. A certain number of French colonists had formed themselves into an association to seize upon the fortresses of the town, and put to death all the English who were in garrison at that place. Twenty of the conspirators were seized, and their crime being evident against them they

were condemned to death by a court martial and led to execution. These were new instances of the inconsistent and impolitic conduct of the colonists of St. Domingo. They were now engaged in plotting the death of those whom a short time before they had hailed as their deliverers from servile war, and the avengers of those wrongs which they had received from the French nation.

Sir Thomas Brisbane did not long survive the attempt to assassinate him, being killed in a skirmish with the negroes in the plain of the Artibonite. The death of this active officer, who was the soul of the English army in St. Domingo, was another disaster to the arms of his countrymen. Soon after this event another attempt was made by a party of negroes to obtain possession of Fort Bizoton at Port au Prince, but it was repulsed with complete success, the English capturing five pieces of cannon and destroying six hundred of their assailants upon the field of action; but another officer was lost to them in this time of their need, Col. Markham, who fell in attacking an advanced post of the besiegers.*

Rigaud, through his ceaseless military operations had made himself a name of dread to the English, who now sought at any cost to stop his enterprises against them. A secret negotiation was opened with him to purchase his neutrality or alliance. An offer of three millions was made to him if he would give up his command in the South, or if he would retire from the scene of his power, retaining his military rank, and accompanied by all his officers to whatever place he should choose. But Rigaud was too ambitious, and saw the field of enterprise too clear before him to be made contented with the condition of a private gentleman, though furnished with immense wealth, and he refused the offers of the English emissary.

The situation of Gen. Laveaux was at this time most critical. Finding himself unable to hold out in his defence of Cape Francois, he had left that place in the command of the mulatto general Villate, and fallen back with his forces upon the town of Port de Paix. Here he resolved to make a desperate stand, and place himself upon the same footing as that of the buccaneers who had made this very spot the scene of their early prowess. The har-

* Mato.

bor was defended by two forts, and the town protected on the side of the land by a multitude of works, which through the labors of Laveaux were increasing in strength and efficiency every day. In this small territory, the last foothold of the French upon the northern coast of St. Domingo, the forces of Laveaux were shut up, suffering with famine, and surrounded on every side with enemies, Spanish, English and negroes. But the Spartan fortitude of the French general still refused to give way, and against all hope he still waited for better fortune. Of all places to the south and west the English were in entire possession, and from the Mole St. Nicholas they were able to blockade all the approaches to Port de Paix from the sea. The Spaniards were masters of the whole province to the north and east, and their forces hemmed in Gen. Laveaux by land with such strictness that not a foraging party could pass beyond the guns of the fortifications without being attacked and immediately overwhelmed with numbers. Port de Paix thus situated experienced all the horrors of want in a besieged town. "For more than six months," says Gen. Laveaux, in giving an account of his situation, "we have been reduced, both officers and men, to six ounces of bread a day. We have neither shoes, shirts, clothes, soap, or tobacco. The soldiers are obliged to mount guard barefoot like Africans. We have but one flint among us. But be assured," he adds, "and I swear it in the name of the republican army, that we will never surrender—that the enemy who drives us from hence shall find no traces of Port de Paix, and sooner than be made prisoners, when our fortifications are destroyed, we will fall back from mountain to mountain, fighting without intermission, until succors arrive to our relief." This hope of succors was chimerical, but it sustained these brave men during their hard sufferings.*

The English attempted to make the necessities of this veteran general a means of gaining him over to their side, and securing to themselves the surrender of Port de Paix. Col. Whitelock wrote to Gen. Laveaux, offering him fifty thousand crowns if he would give up the place under his command, and cease from efforts which must be hopeless. After having read the letter Gen. Laveaux demanded of

* Lucroix.

the officer who had brought it to him if he was acquainted with the contents of his message; and when the English officer had protested his ignorance of what he had been made the bearer, the French general proceeded to read the communication in a loud voice to those who surrounded him, after which he added, that if the English officer had known what were the propositions of which he had been made the bearer, he would have had him hung upon the spot. As it was, Gen. Laveaux wrote to Col. Whitelock in the following strain: "You have dishonored me in the eyes of my own army, by supposing me so vile, so base, as to abuse in a manner that is infamous the confidence which has been placed in me. You have offered me a personal affront, and you owe me reparation. If you have the heart, your own honor will prescribe to you what is your duty. It is needless to wait for a general battle, as we must fight hand to hand. I leave to you the choice of weapons—one of us must fall. As an Englishman you have a right to my hatred, but not to my scorn and contempt."*

Toward the end of April, 1795, the English were again reinforced by the arrival of three new regiments; but disease seized upon these also, and before the end of August their numbers were reduced from a force of more than nine hundred men to scarce three hundred and fifty. The military movements of the campaign were entrusted to Gen. Williamson, governor of Jamaica, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of all the English possessions in the West Indies. He landed at Port au Prince some time in May, and proceeded without delay to increase the military strength of that capital, and undertook to establish a chain of posts extending along the coast and across the mountains throughout the whole distance from Port au Prince to Tiburon. As the numbers of the English were not sufficient to garrison all these fortresses, a large purchase was negotiated with several French planters, to obtain for this purpose a large force of negroes, consisting of those who had continued in subordination upon the plantations. These were formed into detachments, and placed under the command of white officers; but they could not be disciplined, and their services were

* Malo.

so valueless that all hope founded upon the assistance they were to render soon vanished. After some months spent in preparations and precautionary movements, Gen. Williamson was succeeded in the command by Gen. Forbes, who followed the same defensive system as his predecessor, strengthening the cordons of troops, and putting forth every effort to augment the numbers under his command. Fortified posts were established upon the Spanish frontiers at Mirebalais and Banica, and negotiations were carried on with the Spaniards to procure a sufficient supply of cattle and other things necessary to provision the army.

Amidst these indecisive operations among the English of the West, the cessation of hostilities between France and Spain had delivered the northern part of St. Domingo from one of its enemies. By the ninth article in this treaty of peace, the king of Spain renounced forever, for himself and his successors, all claim upon what had been called the Spanish territory of St. Domingo, and thus this large portion of the island, which had been originally settled by the Spanish nation, and held as a colony of the Spanish crown for two hundred years, was ceded in perpetuity to the French republic. It was stipulated that within the space of one month after the peace had been made known in St. Domingo, the Spanish troops should proceed to evacuate every fort and establishment which they held in the island, and that these should be delivered up to the troops of the republic as soon as they arrived to take possession of them. They were to be given up with all the artillery and munitions of war which should be found in them at the time when the treaty was made known in the island. Those Spanish colonists who wished to retire with their property to other places in the dominions of Spain, were authorized to do so within the space of one year from the publication of the treaty.*

The English government had been long dissatisfied with the little success which had crowned their exertions for the conquest of St. Domingo, and taught as they were by experience how fruitless are attempts to secure a difficult conquest by means altogether inadequate to the object to be gained, they determined to send out another

* Malo.

reinforcement of seven thousand men, which was placed under the command of Gen. How. But the passage was long and tempestuous, and these troops did not arrive at the Mole St. Nicholas until six months had elapsed from their departure from Cork; and when they had at last arrived, it was found necessary for them to remain aboard several weeks before they could be landed. Such a force sent to the island in the beginning of the war would have proved amply sufficient to subjugate the whole country to the arms of England; but the enemies of the English had now rallied their strength, and grown emboldened by success, while the English had lost that artificial prestige which depends upon a succession of victories, and gives an impulse to personal courage, while it lessens the confidence of the enemy.

The mulattoes were still in possession of Leogane, and they had surrounded that town with a ditch and range of palisades, and they were now actively engaged in making the fortress of the harbor more formidable in its defences. The English general considering this place important in regard to his future operations, despatched a strong armament to drive the mulattoes from it. On the 22d of December this force, which consisted of three thousand men, under the command of Gen. Bowers, began its disembarkation at Leogane, under the protection of four ships of the line, six frigates and many smaller vessels commanded by Admiral Parker. While the troops were landing the fleet kept up a brisk fire upon Fort Ca Ira, which was answered with such destructive effect that the forces were scarcely ashore when the vessels found it necessary to gain an offing without farther delay; having failed completely in their attack.

The troops being now left to maintain the attack without artillery were so galled by the fire of the enemy that they were compelled at length to retire from before the place, and took up their march for Port au Prince. The English now invested the town of Bombard: a place which had once been appropriated for the residence of a German colony—and it fell into the hands of the besiegers almost without an effort. Rigaud followed up his successes at Tiburon by attacking the post at Irois: but for this time he was successfully repulsed, though not without

loss to the besieged, one hundred of whom had perished in the assault, and among the rest Gen. Bowers, who commanded the place. The English, notwithstanding these little successes still continued to lose ground daily, until the theatre of the war had become contracted to the immediate neighborhood of Port au Prince. The mulattoes were there in force, constructing batteries and fortifications, and the English, discouraged from all farther effort, made no attempt to oppose them, although their head quarters were situated at a place not more than four miles distant.

But before the power of the English had dwindled to such extent, and before even the treaty of Bâsle had secured the peaceable evacuation of the North by the forces of Spain, a great change had been brought over the prospects of the island through the potent agency of one man, and this man a black. While Gen. Laveaux had remained shut up in Port de Paix he engaged himself in carrying on secret negotiations through the Abbé de la Haye with one of the chiefs of the insurgent negroes, whose name was Toussaint. This subtle black, who was a subaltern in the ranks of Jean Francois and Biassou, had often been mortified and incensed at having his plans treated with disdain by those insolent chieftains, in consequence of his subordinate situation in the army. Losing all hope of supplanting Jean Francois, whom the Spaniards were loading with favors and the negroes admiring for his titles and decorations, he determined to burst the shackles which confined his soaring ambition, and to join the standard of the French for emoluments which might be more subservient to his plans. He offered in consequence to Gen. Laveaux to desert to the French with all who were under his command, on condition that the rank of colonel should be conferred upon him in the French army. Gen. Laveaux seized upon the offer with eagerness, and assured Toussaint that the republic would take pleasure in exceeding his wishes, and confer upon him the rank of general of brigade. This was enough: he deserted under circumstances which show to what extent this cunning hypocrite could carry dissimulation. Always enveloped in the odor of sanctity, even when he was carrying on negotiations against the Spanish power, he wore the air of an anchorite, and by his severe auster-

ity excited the attention of the marquis of Hermona, his immediate commander-in-chief, who was heard to exclaim that "God himself in this lower world could not actuate a spirit more pure." The astonishment of Hermona at Toussaint's treachery was soon to exceed his admiration of his sanctity. After a few days this negro chief, so pure and angelic, after having attended at mass and received the sacraments of the church with a solemnity worthy of a Trappist, departed suddenly from Marmelade with a host of blacks who had been placed under his orders, or brought into the sphere of his influence. He overthrew all the Spaniards whom he encountered in his progress, and passed on to Plaisance and Gros Morne, where he found Gen. Laveaux.

This defection, which brought on the immediate surrender of Marmelade, Plaisance, Gros Morne, Ennery, Dondon, Acul, and Limbé, threw the Spaniards into confusion and affright, and at once changed the aspect of things. Gen. Laveaux, who had been so lately upon the very brink of capture, was now actively in the field, and victorious in every direction. On the eve of Toussaint's defection, the Spaniards had been presumptuous and domineering, and the next morning found them fearful and misgiving. These great events, brought about by his single agency, were duly estimated by Toussaint, who now with complacency saw it realized, that he possessed a power within himself which it would be dangerous for his enemies to despise, and he learned at what value to estimate his future services.

Toussaint had been a slave for fifty-two years, and had been originally owned upon a plantation of the Jesuits in the plain of Cape Francois; but on the sale of that estate, which followed the suppression of that religious order, he passed into the hands of M. Breda, who was his master at the time of the first negro insurrection. He had acquired a little knowledge in reading and writing from the Jesuits in his youth, and had ever been characterized for the natural vigor of his mind. Endowed to the utmost with the peculiar cunning of the African race, he had learned to be quite impenetrable, and it was seldom that he communed with any one than himself. He suspected the final success of the first revolt of his countrymen,

from the air it wore of wild and aimless fanaticism, and he did not unite himself to the insurgents until their enterprise had assumed a definite and organized character. He then suddenly quitted the plantation Breda, where he had hitherto remained at his accustomed labor with every appearance of content, and by means of certain remedies, of the virtues of which he professed a knowledge, and his admirable tact to derive advantages to himself from every occurrence around him, he soon gained among the hordes of Jean Francois a name and reputation "as the physician to the armies of the king." But as his greatness began to expand itself he rejected medical titles and aspired to military renown. He had already served as aid de camp to both Biassou and Jean Francois, and was a colonel in the service of Spain when he received the grade of general of brigade from Gen. Laveaux.

Pierrot, the negro chief who had been a former ally of the French, had died as he lived in the nullity of ignorance and insignificance, but this new auxiliary to their arms became soon distinguished for maintaining an ascendancy over his brethren, which proved the superiority of his genius. He possessed not the impetuous courage of more active temperaments, nor the artificial resources which are the result of education. He had nothing personally striking, and no qualities which are called brilliant when applied to endowments of mind. He was old, ill-formed, and his utterance was embarrassed. But notwithstanding these defects in a hero, he possessed other means to dazzle the multitude and ensure himself an influence, and when the season had arrived for the attainment of what he had been striving for in secret, he advanced forward to seize upon success as an appanage which was justly his, both by desert and conquest. Many of the blacks grown fastidious by long success, had already become tired and disgusted with the sway of such grovelling spirits as Jean Francois and Biassou, and they wished for a chief capable of leading them on to that splendid destiny which their fancies pictured to them in the future. Toussaint added to his name the appellation L'Ouverture, to announce to his race that to him it belonged to open a way to a happier destiny. The services which he rendered to the French through his mere defection were immense,

as it was solely through this means that Laveaux was enabled to extricate himself and his forces from the destruction that awaited them; and it was solely through his influence over the blacks that they were won to the standard of France, and reduced to order and the rules of discipline. Almost all the northern province was restored to the power of the French, and the flag of the republic was seen floating over places which but a few days before were held closely by the forces of Spain; and such was the respect with which the negroes viewed the genius of Toussaint, that they preferred his authority to that of either the English or Spaniards. The latter even found themselves obliged to use a severity that was continual, and a caution that was minute and unceasing, to save their own forces from the dangerous ferocity of the auxiliaries, whom they had enlisted into their ranks. but Toussaint, always feared and always obeyed, could entirely restrain this ferocity until it became necessary to him in order to ensure success in his schemes of personal advancement.

The late peace between France and Spain had put an end to the campaigns of Jean Francois and his allies the Spaniards, and the negro chief embarked with all his principal officers to enjoy in Europe the honors and dignities with which they had been invested by their patrons of the court of Madrid. Jean Francois retired to Centa to live in dignified leisure, with all the honors and emoluments of a captain general in the service of his Catholic Majesty. Toussaint was thus left without a competitor, and as his fortunes continued to brighten he was regarded by the negroes as the hope of their race. They looked to him as a sure deliverer, and they confided in him because they believed all his conduct instigated by the desire to improve the condition of his race. Laveaux was soon brought to feel the mighty workings of this influence over the blacks, for through its agency he now held undisputed control over all places throughout the North, with the single exception of the Mole St. Nicholas. He was enabled to carry the war into that territory held by the English, and he harrassed their detachments, which were posted at the sources of the Artibonite, and forced them to retreat upon St. Marks.

Toussaint was at this time posted at Verrettes and the river Ester, and it was while in this position that he made a display of his talent for cunning and treachery, by attempting to gain possession of the person of the English commander in that district. This officer received a message from Toussaint, stating that he had become disgusted with serving the French, and desired to desert to the standard of Great Britain—that he was ready to yield Gonaives, Verrettes, and other places under his command, if the conditions could be settled at an interview which he proposed at the bridge of the Ester. Completely deceived by this apparent frankness in treason, the English commander was already on his way to the conference, when he was cautioned by an English officer to beware of trusting his person in the power of a negro who had grown old in treachery. The Englishman returned to his quarters, and sent in his room M. Gauthier, an emigrant officer, who was his second in command at St. Marks. This man was escorted to the appointed interview by a detachment of mulattoes clad in British uniforms, and he opened the negotiation by an offer of money as the price of Toussaint's desertion to the English army. At this the negro chief got up a well feigned indignation, while he saw with secret complacency that if the English commander had not thrown himself in his power he had at least succeeded in enveloping in his toils one of that hated race who had been the former tyrants of St. Domingo. The Frenchman and his mulatto conductors were all given over to the mercy of a negro court martial, acting under the immediate eye of Toussaint, whence they were all led to execution, for having attempted to corrupt "the virtuous Toussaint."

Toussaint now advanced upon St. Marks with the whole negro force, but its energies could not yet be sufficiently concentrated to sustain a siege against a place defended by disciplined troops: and the irregular attack was quickly repulsed by the English. The forces of the latter, worn down as they were by sickness, and harassed continually by the enemies which swarmed on every side of them, resolved to increase still farther their fortifications, and to act strictly on the defensive. Thus for a time the activity of the war languished, and Rigaud in

the South seized upon the momentary tranquillity, to restore the neglected plantations by enjoining upon the blacks, that unless they resorted to agriculture as a means of subsistence it would soon become impossible for them to maintain their resistance. The aim of this policy was clearly seen by the English, and they made immediate preparations to counteract it; but their enterprise completely failed, from the capture or desertion of the detachment of blacks which was employed to accomplish it.

Rigaud, who considered himself the rightful successor to the whites in the government of St. Domingo, felt himself much aggrieved at the rising fortunes of Toussaint, as well as at the conduct of Gen. Leveaux, in heaping bestowments of honor upon the black general. Gen. Villate, the highest dignitary among the mulattoes of the North, who had distinguished himself formerly by his defence of Cape Francois against the Spaniards, participated with Rigaud in these sentiments of envy and ambition, and he was not proof against the persuasions of his race, who were now plotting machinations against Gen. Laveaux. The latter, upon his return to Cape Francois, from which he had been absent for a few days, fell into the power of a conspiracy which was aimed particularly against him as the chief patron and friend of Toussaint. He was thrown into prison, where he might perhaps have perished the victim of some new exasperation, if Toussaint had not hastened to deliver him from his dangerous situation. The negro-chief was speedily informed of the occurrence; and when he was least expected he was surrounding Cape Francois with an army of ten thousand blacks. At the sound of his voice every thing gave way, and Villate and his conspirators saw themselves helpless, and were compelled to seek safety in flight; while Gen. Laveaux was instantly set at liberty, and restored to his power. Just at this moment an arrival from France brought the intelligence that Laveaux had been appointed governor of St. Domingo; and the first use he made of his new authority was to perform an act of gratitude. He proclaimed Toussaint his lieutenant in power,—thus placing the negro chief within one step of the high exaltation to which he had already begun to direct his aspirations. “This is the black,” said Laveaux,

“who was foretold by Raynal as destined to avenge the injuries of his race.” After designating Toussaint as the saviour of the whites and the avenger of the blacks, he expressed his determination to adopt no measures in his administration without acting in concert with him, and being governed by his advice.

This was a potent charm to heal the troubles of the time; but by raising such a man as Toussaint to supreme power in the colony it proved at last the death-blow to the power of France in St. Domingo. From this moment the influence of the whites ceased to be felt in the country, and upon its ruins arose the power of the blacks. It cannot, however, be denied that the association of Toussaint in the government of the country tended to the improvement of the negroes—as through his authority, the designs of which were not suspected, they were reclaimed to order and to their labors upon the soil; and peace and perfect submission were the consequence. His weight in the government was likewise felt through his influence over the whites, as he exhorted the little remnant of proprietors that still existed in the island to attach themselves to him, since he alone possessed the power to re-establish slavery upon their deserted plantations, and bring back the ancient order of things.

Another deputation of commissioners was now despatched by the National Convention to superintend the reorganization of St. Domingo; and at their head was Santhonax, whose wretched policy had once already delivered the colony to the distractions of civil war, to ruin and foreign invasion; and if the standard of France was still maintained in the island, it was due to the agency of an old negro, who pretended to have a mission from heaven to save the country from oppression. Toussaint, now invested with the whole power of the country, was found by Santhonax and his colleagues busy in establishing order and the dominion of the laws; and those who had been so long a horde of wild and disorderly banditti were now resuming the labors of agriculture, and commencing anew the arts and employments of peaceful life. The energy and genius of this singular black had accomplished this change in the habits of his countrymen, and now, instead of roving through the country in quest of pillage and

victims to sacrifice to a trained ferocity, they had changed, with all the pliability of their peculiar race, to a species of passive citizens, who, as far as they were capable, felt an interest in the state. A man of uprightness and philanthropy would have seized on the advantages offered by this condition of things to repair the ruin which former disasters had spread over the country; but Santhonax, a man of turbulent and selfish passions, spent the first few days after his arrival in quarelling with his colleagues in office, two of whom he wished to detach from the deputation and drive from the scene of their labors, because they seemed such persons as would stand in the way of his own ambition. One of them, M. Giraud, being a man of gentle manners, and unfitted for the storms which he saw awaited him, willingly gave up his commission, and retired from a situation for which he was by natural temper unqualified. The other, M. Leblanc, had been an emissary of the French Republic to the United States, employed to watch the movements of the French emigrants in this country; and from his intimate association with the events of the revolution he had too much knowledge of things not to excite distrust of him in the mind of Santhonax. Falling suddenly sick after he had proceeded aboard the vessel which was to carry him to France, he gave out that he was poisoned—a charge which so enraged Santhonax that he ordered the ship to be fired upon as it lay windbound in the harbor. But a few days had elapsed after the vessel had departed from the island, when M. Leblanc died, and thus two hindrances were removed from the way of Santhonax's ambition. There were two other members of the new commission, one of whom was destined to proceed to Santo Domingo, to superintend the execution of the treaty lately concluded for the surrender of the Spanish territory to the French republic, and the other, M. Raimond, being of a flexible temper was retained by Santhonax to coöperate with him in his policy. The secretary of the commission, M. Pascal, had been entirely overlooked in this arrangement. He was the brother-in-law of M. Raimond, and a man who could not be insignificant; and through a stealthy influence he soon became an important agent in the political movements of the time. Associating freely with Tous-

saint he first became his secret partisan, and afterwards his confidential secretary.

Before the dispersion of the commissioners, they had granted an act of amnesty to Villate and his companions, whom they had absolved from their crime and permitted to return to their duty. But when Santhonax was left to himself he persuaded himself to another policy, and proclaimed that Villate was outlawed, and to be seized dead or alive; and in order to sustain himself in such an attack upon a mulatto, he appointed Toussaint general of division, as a reward for his services in rescuing Gen. Laveaux from confinement. Villate and twenty of his associates were taken and transported to France—and this exercise of power, like other violent measures of Santhonax, implanted hatred and a spirit of revenge between the different classes, who had just begun to commingle into one. The mulattoes now hated Santhonax and his coadjutor, Toussaint, both of whom they considered as guilty of usurpation upon the rights of their caste, for condemning those who had been once acquitted of their offence.

Rigaud, who could not endure the honors and power which had been granted to Toussaint, was now busy in the South, increasing his authority and organizing his strength. He was already absolute in his province, and his future movements were dreaded by Santhonax, who had despatched three delegates to Aux Cayes, to watch his conduct and prevent the farther increase of his influence. The jealousy and inquietude of the mulattoes were at their height when Gen. Desfourneaux arrived at Aux Cayes to take upon himself the command of the South; and these inquietudes burst forth into tumults when an order came there for the arrest of the mulatto general Pinchinat. The delegates of Santhonax attempted to divert these fearful threatenings, by planning an expedition against the English of Grande Anse, which was now invested under the orders of Gen. Desfourneaux. But the enterprise failed, and Rigaud retired towards Tiburon, while the French delegates returned to Aux Cayes. Here they found the town in universal commotion, and an active hatred and desire of vengeance existing in the hearts of all the mulattoes, who were enraged both against their white and black enemies. The delegates sought to

subdue this spirit of sedition by ordering the arrest of its leaders, but the escape of one of their victims brought ruin upon their enterprise. This was a mulatto officer named Lefranc, who kept his enemies at bay by entrenching himself in one of the forts of the town, where he rallied to his support a body of his brethren, who, gaining possession of both forts, Islet and Tourterelle, were able to bid defiance to their opponents.

This hostility among the mulattoes brought with it its usual dangers, and on the 28th of August, 1796, a new insurrection burst forth among the negroes of Aux Cayes. An alarm gun put them in motion throughout the plain, and, as always happened, the whites were pursued like sheep before wolves. The delegates, affrighted at these scenes of ruin and massacre which they themselves had originated, hastened to appeal to the assistance of Rigaud, for whom the insurgents were also at the same time calling, to lead them against their enemies. The mulatto chief-tain arrived two days after; and listening to the complaints of those of his own color rather than to the solicitations of the whites, whose friendship was so doubtful, he proceeded by night to join his countrymen who were posted in the forts. Animated by the presence of Rigaud the ferocity of the insurgents put on new strength—the night was spent in spreading destruction, and the morning sun shone over a wide waste of ruin and carnage. More than two hundred people had fallen victims to the vengeance of the mulattoes, and their allies the insurgent blacks. Rigaud in the mean time whetted by feelings of personal resentment, and steeled against all interests but those of his own race, put forth no effort to arrest this course of massacre, and only cried out as usual, “My God! what a thing is the people when in a rage.” The delegates who had been intruded on his authority knew not what measure to adopt to bring back security and to arrest the march of destruction, when it was in vain that they made every concession and offers the most absolute; but the pride of Rigaud had been wounded by their appointment over him, and his full investiture with sovereign power would not have been sufficient to appease his rankling indignation.

Santhonax and Laveaux had now been appointed mem-

bers of the Legislative Assembly of France, and they prepared to depart from the colony fully resolved to denounce Rigaud before the authorities of the Republic—while to Raimond alone was entrusted the superintendence over the French part of the island. The delegates were recalled from Aux Cayes, and all the tumult and strife subsided at once into a perfect calm. That province was now left under the undisputed sovereignty of Rigaud, who was absolute in his power though he never neglected to inquire, in every measure, what was the will of France in relation to the government of the South. In almost every revolution, after the first storms of popular excitement are over, there are always to be found master spirits, the offspring of the time, who wait a momentary calm to seize the helm of state, and make all future movements tend to one point—their individual aggrandizement. Such as these were Rigaud and Toussaint, who now ruled the destinies of St. Domingo. They were the heads, not the representatives, of their respective races. They were both extraordinary specimens of these races, whose superior endowments stood out in bold relief from the benighted mass around them, and the secret of their influence resided in their peculiar situation, in which they stood as demigods among men: If their personal ambition and prejudices had been less, and they had united themselves in the one patriotic wish to make their immense personal influence subservient to the good of their country, they might have saved it from the disastrous inflictions which were yet to ensue. But they were not thus constituted; and these potent chieftains were in consequence destined to rule in absolute sovereignty for a little time, but in the end to be driven from their power; and while they were cut short in their career, their country was given up to horrors which threw a shade of obscurity on all which had as yet deformed its fair proportions.

Rigaud's administration of power was generally wise and effective. All offices were placed in the hands of mulattoes, and the blacks were employed upon the soil of the plantations, where they were distributed under the pretence of repressing vagabondage—their situation being nearly the same as when they toiled for their ancient mas-

ters. But if the yoke of the blacks was severe from their having to labor to increase the productions of the territory, the lot of the whites was much worse,—for their insignificance did not save them from peril and continual inquietude. But such was the vigor of the government that immense resources were soon placed at its command. The flourishing state of the plantations poured wealth into the public treasury, and made the population peaceable and contented.

While Rigaud was thus strengthening himself, and enjoying the fruits of power in the South, the crafty Toussaint had not been idle in the North. His first object was to rid himself of Gen. Laveaux, his superior in the government; and for this purpose he began to intrigue against a man who had made him a general of brigade, and associated him with himself in the government of the country. There is little doubt that Toussaint's powerful influence in the elections was the chief cause of Gen. Laveaux's being made a representative of St. Domingo in the new legislature of France; and the black chief secretly exulted in the near prospect of his departure from the island, for Santhonax had already initiated him into the future by telling him that he would one day become the commander-in-chief of the island—an assertion which, from the few difficulties in the way of its fulfilment, was sufficient to animate an ambition like that of Toussaint to point all his measures towards this desired result.

Toussaint now redoubled his exertions to coöperate with the French commissioner. He lent his powerful aid in the attempt to arm and remodel the black forces; and putting himself at their head he commenced operations against the English. While Rigaud was threatening their lines from the South, Toussaint followed up the river Artibonite to Mirebalais, drove them from Grand Bois, and became the chief support of the arms of France in that direction. As a reward for these important services, the French commissioners, upon the 5th of May, 1797, formally invested him with the office and dignity of general-in-chief of St. Domingo. While these events were in progress Gen. Desfourneaux, who had returned from Aux Cayes, made a campaign in the North with results which

were brilliant. The heights of Vallieres, which had been called the Vendee of St. Domingo, were carried by assault, and the negroes who still remained in arms against France were thus effectually overcome. It was in this campaign that the negro chief Christophe first distinguished himself and gained promotion; and the first use he made of his new authority was to employ it in patronizing agriculture. He furnished implements of agriculture to a negro who had demanded them, and through his exertions the plantation Brossard, situated in the plain of Cape Francois, was in a short time restored to cultivation. The negro houses were rebuilt, the sugar mills repaired from their ruinous condition, and the whole estate was soon brought back to almost its ancient splendor. This praiseworthy attempt furnished an example which had its effect upon others—and many other plantations, which had lain for years blackened in ruin and mouldering in desolation, were now put in occupation, and planted with cane. Christophe was now appointed to the command of Petit Anse, and by his encouragement of agriculture he gave a new aspect to things in that parish. Deserted habitations were again tenanted—cane-fields, which had grown up with wild shrubbery, were cleared and devoted to cultivation, and the former magnificence of that rich plain began to be dimly reflected in its new restoration. Cape Francois, and the towns along the northern coast, were the next to be rebuilt; and they grew up at once under the new impulse which was acting upon the black population. Toussaint threw his powerful influence into the work, with the maxim “that the liberty of the blacks could never be solid without agriculture.” This sentence of their great chief passed from mouth to mouth among the negroes, and awoke them to the desire and ambition of becoming proprietors. As soon as it was made known that Toussaint was the general-in-chief of the island, all hopes were centred in him as the only one who could restore prosperity and ancient splendor. The district in which he had once been a slave desired to be called by his name—and it was no longer denominated Grande Riviere, but the municipality of Toussaint Louverture. But names as well as facts are stubborn things, and it was found a work of difficulty to

insure a long conformity to the new baptism. The better sort of blacks seemed to be urged to assist in the re-establishment of order by the mere impulse of avarice, and they attached themselves to Toussaint because they knew that he was able to accomplish whatever he desired; and from yielding a ready support to his authority they hoped to draw immense profits to themselves. All seemed tired of farther disorder, and Santhonax lost the confidence which had been reposed in him, in proportion as to his agency had been ascribed the troubles which had arisen in the country since his arrival.

This commissioner, upon accepting the trust of representing the interests of St. Domingo in the national legislature of France, had thought that he was to leave behind him a successor who was his devoted servant, but his vexation was as great as his previous confidence when he discovered that even before his departure Toussaint was engaged in plotting against him. Santhonax tried the effects of his eloquence upon the blacks in order not to be left powerless in the hands of his rival; but it was all in vain, for the blacks had already been drilled to their duty, and they answered that the French commission to maintain its authority any longer must issue a decree in its corporate capacity. This was impossible, for the departure of Santhonax had already been decided on by Toussaint, and approved by the other commissioner, Raimond, who for this alliance against his colleague had been promised the attainment of his wishes by being made the nominal head of the government. The self-sufficiency of Santhonax had not allowed him to foresee this league against him, and hastening to an interview with Toussaint, he was so appalled by his threatening aspect, and the attendant preparations around him, that he resigned his office without hazarding a murmur. The black general Leveille, and many white officers, who had refused to concur in this forcible ejection of Santhonax from the scene of his authority, when he seemed on the point of leaving it so soon of his own accord, accompanied him aboard, and departed with him to France. Their reports furnished cause of distrust to the Directory, whose jealousy was awakened as to the ulterior designs of the man whom chance had placed at the helm of affairs in St. Do-

mingo. Toussaint foresaw this result, and with his usual sagacity he instantly began measures to prevent it. To lull the fears of the Directory, by manifesting his own consciousness of innocence, and the affectionate confidence he reposed in the friendship of those whom he still acknowledged as his masters, he sent two of his children to France as tacit hostages of his fidelity, but in reality to secure their education.*

These young blacks were the bearers of a letter from their father, stating "that his confidence in the Directory must necessarily be great, as it had induced him to deliver into its power his two children; and this at a time when complaints were busy against him to compromit the sincerity of his intentions." The current of public censure was now directed against Santhonax, and this letter of Toussaint to the Directory excited in that body a latent hope, which, however, it did not dare to breathe out, for fear that its easy confidence in the black general in chief should be utterly swept away by the next intelligence from St. Domingo. "There exist no longer any internal agitations," continues the letter, "and I hold myself responsible for the submission to order and duty of the blacks, my brethren. You, citizen directors, may count upon happy results, and you will soon have the opportunity of seeing if I pledge my responsibility and excite your hopes in vain."

The very boldness of these assurances taught the Directory that to deal with such a man required great management and address. Gen. Hedouville was selected, for his talents and moderation, as one eminently fitted to execute the difficult mission of watching and restraining the ambitious designs of a man whom a concurrence of fortunate events had made the master of his own policy. This evidence of distrust on the part of the Directory taught Toussaint that he must dazzle by military achievements before he could hope to consummate his plans: and he was also moved to this policy by his jealousy of the growing greatness of Rigaud. It is doubtful if at that time Toussaint had such expanded ambition as to meditate the plan of subjecting the whole island to his sway, but he saw that the settlements along the bay of Leogane, which

* Lacroix.

were held by the English, were defended by a feeble force, which, from the ceaseless occupation of its troops in the military operations of Europe, the British administration had left to dwindle into utter insignificance. Disease had nearly annihilated the original armament, and with such auxiliaries as they possessed the English could not hope to contend with the magic power of Toussaint, or succeed in dispersing the swarm of blacks at the head of which he moved.

The English had now been in occupation of the island for three years, and after having incurred an expenditure of millions of pounds, and lost thousands of their best troops, they found their conquest a barren acquisition, and not worth a continuance of the war. Gen. Maitland, who was the last successor of a host of generals who had directed military operations in that territory, had been abandoned by his government to sustain himself with those resources which chance might furnish to aid him in his necessities,—and he resolved to retire from the island with the best grace possible, and for this end he had resort to the arts of policy. His predecessors had failed in their attempts to seduce Rigaud and other distinguished mulattoes to their alliance, but this ill success was ascribed to the agent who had been employed in that delicate service. The deepest address was in all cases necessary to manage the opposing prejudices and personal hostility which prevailed so bitterly among the different castes of St. Domingo. Troubles were continually arising in the English camp from the incongruous alliance of hostile classes under the same standard. The respect and promotion which was lavished on mulattoes gave deep offence to the French emigrants, who often found themselves obliged to yield obedience to a man in a scarlet coat whom they despised when in a blue one. They could not endure that advancement should be thus conferred upon a race so much beneath them, and many duels were the consequence, in one of which fell the marquis de Cadusch, once president of the colonial assembly.

The military movements of Toussaint in the immediate vicinity of the English lines suggested to Gen. Maitland the idea of attempting his fidelity to the standard of the French republic; and before commencing any hostilities

on his part he opened the negotiation by a powerful appeal both to the vanity and ambition of Toussaint. Letters were despatched to him filled with adulation and terms of profound respect and attachment to the negro chief. Having paved the way by these vague demonstrations of courteous civility, which had been so artfully prepared as to inflame the personal pretensions of Toussaint to the utmost, the transactions were fairly commenced by proposing to the black general not a regular capitulation of those places then held by the English forces, but a coöperation with him in an attempt to wrest the island of St. Domingo from the possession of France. This unexpected proffer, which presumed so much for the power and influence of Toussaint, was at first too much for his modesty to endure; but it failed to exasperate the negro chief because it offered such incense to his vanity. From this time the war became a series of bloodless negotiations, and was carried on by an interchange of notes and propositions, in which the extreme of respect and high consideration were mutually pledged by either party to the other.* While this was in progress the new French commissioner, Gen. Hedouville, arrived at the island, and this occurrence had the effect to suspend for a time the intercourse between the contracting parties. Gen. Hedouville brought with him no forces to sustain his authority—nothing but an insignificant body-guard, infinitely too little indeed to overawe any waywardness in the black chiefs of the country. Added to this, the point of disembarkation had been ill-chosen by Gen. Hedouville, if he wished to inspire confidence and command allegiance; for he landed at Santo Domingo, as if to watch from a place of safety the movement of things in the French territory, when he should have honored Toussaint with at least an appearance of amity, and thrown himself within the direct sphere of his power by landing at Cape Francois. Notwithstanding the secret misgivings of Toussaint at this unnecessary precaution on the part of the French commissioner, he was received with all apparent cordiality; but Hedouville refused to recognize the authority and pretensions of Raimond, and Toussaint was in consequence disquieted and displeased; as he felt that

* Lacroix.

this was a blow aimed at him from his intimate alliance with the rejected commissioner in the affair of driving Santhonax from the island, though at a later period Toussaint had succeeded in ridding himself of Raimond, as he had of Santhonax, by procuring his election to the Council of Five Hundred. Upon the already heightened sensitiveness of Toussaint this conduct of the new commissioner wrought an evil influence, and other events came also to augment the jealous distrust of the black chief.

Some young officers of Gen. Hedouville's suite called up sensations which were startling to the blacks, by asserting that with four brave men they would engage to penetrate into the very camp of Toussaint, and make a prisoner of "that maggot rolled in linen"—alluding by this expression to Toussaint's constant practice of having his head enveloped in a Madras handkerchief. This maggot, however, was already occupying himself with dangerous designs against the new delegation from France, which he now felt assured had been sent to St. Domingo to watch his movements and counteract the march of his ambition. He still continued to keep himself aloof from Cape Francois, notwithstanding the solicitations of Gen. Hedouville for an interview between them; but when he was informed that his great rival Rigaud was already there, a jealous regard for his own interests did what the professed amity of the French commissioner had failed to do, and he consented to be present at the conference which was to be held for the purpose of re-establishing the affairs of the colony. The deliberations immediately commenced, and during their progress occasions were by no means wanting to disclose to the French commissioner how much the rival jealousies and pretensions of the two native chiefs would add to the difficulties of his mission. Toussaint was already piqued that Rigaud's reception at Cape Francois had been more honorable than that which had been accorded to him, and he began in consequence to urge the weight of his authority, and to make demonstrations of his power over the blacks as arguments the most potent of his superior greatness.

One of Gen. Hedouville's followers remarked to the black chief in the way of compliment "how much they

should feel themselves flattered, if after forming the escort of Gen. Hedouville to St. Domingo they could in the same manner escort back Toussaint L'Ouverture to France, where alone services like his could obtain the honors and rewards they so much merited." Toussaint, awakened by every unguarded word to feelings of distrust and danger, made a hasty reply—"Your vessel is not large enough for me"—a concentrated creole expression, which denoted that he was a greater man than Gen. Hedouville. Another of Hedouville's suit advised Toussaint to retire to France and end his days in repose. "A good idea," replied the wary black, "and I think to put it in execution when that (and he pointed to a small sapling,) can make a ship to convey me thither." These little incidents carried the existing jealousy of Toussaint beyond the point of farther submission, and he began to make preparations to act for himself. Knowing his own strength he resolved henceforth to employ it in the furtherance of his own personal designs, without a care for the interests of the French republic, to the service of which he professed nevertheless to devote himself. He broke off from the conference, and made a speedy departure under pretence of conducting the movements of the army, and Hedouville, who had found himself at fault in managing one possessed of such sagacity, and so suspicious of the designs of those who professed themselves his friends, saw this conduct with approval, as he hoped in the absence of the black general to make the influence of Rigaud subservient to his designs in undermining the power of Toussaint.

But the eclat which followed the splendid successes of the latter served but to defeat the plans of the French commissioner, and exalt still farther the pretensions of Toussaint. The artful policy of the English general now had a double effect upon the black chief, from the doubtful amity of the French and the high professions of the English. The negotiations became more active, and reports were daily coming to the ears of Gen. Hedouville which foreboded little success to his policy of making the power of Toussaint subservient to his own interests and those of his country. The black chief at length ceased altogether to give any account of himself, and while Port

au Prince was surrendered to him in person the English garrison of that place obtained for itself conditions so easy as to excite strong suspicions that there existed some connivance on the part of Toussaint. The black general, at the head of more than fifteen thousand men had treated for the capitulation of the feeble remains of the English army; and notwithstanding this disparity between the two armies conditions had been granted to the English of embarking all their cannon which were of brass and of destroying those which were of iron. Gen. Hedouville, who was loud in his denunciation of this lenity toward the foreign invaders, resolved himself to frame all future stipulations for the surrender of towns held by the English. Gen. Maitland had retired from Port au Prince to Jeremie, whence in obedience to his plan of abandoning all places in the island then held by his forces, he proceeded to the Mole St. Nicholas. Here, in addition to a sufficient garrison, there existed a body of more than six thousand troops, either English or their auxiliaries, and it was determined to hold this convenient station until final measures could be taken to secure some advantages to the English, even in their retreat from the country. They had already given up all other places which they held in the island, and they now offered to surrender the Mole St. Nicholas, to be left in the same condition as when they took possession of it, if the demands which they urged in exchange were granted to them. A treaty was at length concluded, which embraced in its stipulations that no emigrant colonists should remain upon the territory which was to be abandoned by their allies, and a proclamation was issued to this effect by Gen. Hedouville with the consent of Gen. Maitland. Hardly had this been done when Toussaint began to complain in loud terms that he, though general in chief of St. Domingo, had not been consulted in these negotiations, and Gen. Hedouville had the severe mortification to learn that the instigations of Toussaint had succeeded in turning the English general from his engagements, and that he now refused to adhere to the treaty by which he had once surrendered the Mole St. Nicholas. The French commissioner was told that Gen. Maitland had publicly torn up his proclamation, and had in decided terms declared that

he would never again contract but with the military chief of the island, in whom alone he recognized any power. In consequence of this new turn in affairs, Gen. Hedouville not only had the vexation to see Toussaint preferred to him, but to find his own treaty, modified in some of its conditions, adopted as the basis of a new capitulation.

At the time when Port au Prince was surrendered to Toussaint he had refused the honors which were so lavishly offered to his acceptance, because he then retained some slight deference for the French commissioner; but he had now outgrown this fastidiousness, and when the artful flattery of the English general had exalted him over Hedouville himself, self love at length overcame his modesty, and he yielded himself to the blandishments of applause and high distinction, which were so eagerly conferred upon him. He made his approach to the town of the Mole St. Nicholas through long lines of English soldiers stationed to do him honor. The officiating priest of the town came out to receive him under the dais, bringing for his reception the symbols of the holy sacrament. Every one expressed for him a respect the most profound, and all salutations were adapted in form to one whose power in the state was supreme. Upon the Place d'Armes of the town there had been erected a magnificent pavilion, in which Gen. Maitland treated the negro chief to a sumptuous repast, at the end of which he presented him in the name of the king of Britain with a service of plate, upon which the dinner had been served. The troops were called under arms, and Toussaint proceeded to review them in the presence of the English commander-in-chief. When this was over, Gen. Maitland presented him, likewise in the name of his king, with two brass cannon, and then with the more magnificent gift of the new government house, which had been lately erected by the English at the Mole St. Nicholas, and furnished by them in a manner the most splendid.

"I have seen," says Lacroix, "the secret propositions which were the cause of these public demonstrations of respect. They declared Toussaint king of Hayti, and provided that he should be recognized as such by the government of Great Britain, on condition that he gave his consent to a treaty of exclusive commerce with the

latter power: the ships of Britain having the sole right to export colonial produce from the island, in exchange for articles of manufacture—to the exclusion, even, of those from the continent of America.” It was to be farther stipulated that a strong naval armament should be furnished by Great Britain, to be stationed in the ports and along the coasts of the island, for its protection from the hostility of other powers.

Toussaint evaded a decision in this daring measure, but he nevertheless remained enchanted by the generosity of the English, and never ceased repeating “that the republic of France had never yielded him such respect as the king of England.”

Showing himself superior to the passions of the time, Toussaint now proceeded, notwithstanding the express orders of the Directory to the contrary, to proclaim a general amnesty to all those who were accused of political offences—a policy which contrasted strongly with the conduct of those then at the head of affairs in France. He commenced the execution of each of his measures by first chanting *Te Deum*, and orders were issued that upon these occasions every one should be present at church. With an odd mixture of fanaticism and hypocrisy, which wrought effects upon the multitude the most potent, he would then ascend the pulpit, and proclaim from thence the successes of the republican arms, which were triumphant over all enemies, both in Europe and St. Domingo. He would then proceed to discourse upon the power and greatness of the republic, and to give assurances that its forgiveness and protection were extended to all, even to those who had once joined the English against their own country, and that these misguided persons had but to return to their native land to ensure to themselves safety, and to live in future peace and prosperity upon their estates. When these sermons were over, at which, though they could not boast of perfection in style and artificial arrangement, no one would nevertheless dare to laugh, the proprietors were required to betake themselves to their plantations. The whole country was overrun with black troops, both infantry and cavalry, who were employed in driving the negroes to their labor upon these plantations. “It was strange,” says Lacroix, who was an

eye witness of what he relates, "to see naked Africans giving an example of the strictest discipline, and making a campaign with nothing to eat but bananas and a little maize." Held in obedience as if by magic to the peremptory orders of Toussaint, they were stationed in the towns without daring any longer to engage in scenes of pillage, even though there existed around them immense stores of provisions and merchandize, and in the country the plantations upon which they were placed were also secure from depredation under the supervision of their barbarian protectors. They were completely under the control of their officers, and they yielded the highest respect to all classes of planters, of whom they would receive nothing in compensation without a long solicitation.

These restraints of discipline, which had been established over those who were mere savages of the woods, constituted one of the greatest triumphs of Toussaint. His predecessors, Jean Francois and Biassou, had been mere leaders of a horde of rebel negroes, but Toussaint was the authorized general and intelligent head of a disciplined army. From the moment when this extraordinary man saw himself obeyed and respected by a white, his protection was secured to him forever. As if above the benighted policy of the epoch in which he ruled, he saw the folly and imprudence of those who persisted in making revolutionary opinions the standard by which alone to dispense protection and political favor. He refused to acknowledge the existence of a class of emigrants as the objects of persecution, and upon whom the bestowment of pardon would be treason against the state. He established them in their rights and property—called them by the military titles which they had received from foreign powers—placed them in the national guard, and bestowed upon them favors as great as those which he granted to whites who had ever remained faithful to France. This moderation in his internal policy, while it thickened the ranks of those who were his devoted partisans, and thus strengthened him in his power, served also to teach the white proprietors that upon him alone they were to rely with any hope to establish the ancient order of things in the colony. This master spirit of the time was always

profound in the deductions which he derived from his observations of human conduct; and from his quick penetration into human character he obtained mighty results to himself. There were many who in the evening had regarded him as a mere brigand, whom accident had advanced to a station above honest men, but who looked upon him the next morning as their deliverer from evil, and the beneficent genius who was healing the distresses of the country, and bringing back its ancient prosperity.

Gen. Hedouville, reduced to impotence by the triumphs in the policy of his mightier rival, could do nothing but utter unavailing complaints, and these were answered by the pomp of a proclamation savoring strongly of Toussaint's assumed sanctity. "Such conduct as this," said he, "is what will bring down upon us the blessing of Heaven, and I hope the orders which follow will be punctiliously obeyed and executed. The officers of the army will have morning and evening prayers read to their respective corps, as the service of the church shall direct for the day. Immediately after review the commanding general in each arrondissement will have high mass celebrated and *Te Deum* chanted in gratitude to that Being who has been pleased to bless our last campaigns—to enable us to bring about the departure of the enemy without the effusion of blood—to protect the return to their homes of so many persons of every color who have been till now in error, and to give so many hands to agriculture. *Te Deum* will be announced by a salute of twenty-two guns."*

This crafty production, worthy of Cromwell himself, had been framed for the express object of placing Gen. Hedouville in a dilemma from which he would find it difficult to extricate himself without ministering to the power of Toussaint. It was designed to make him appear irreligious to the superstitious blacks, and intolerant to the emigrant colonists, who had now begun in throngs to range themselves on the side of Toussaint. He would be deemed irreligious if he signified any opposition to a measure which had for its professed object a thanksgiving to Heaven for the late successes over the English, and intolerant if he persisted in his wish to drive from St.

* Extract from Toussaint's proclamation, dated at the Mole, October, 1793.

Domingo so many persons of every color " who had been till now in error."

This subtle policy had its effect. The influence of Gen. Hedouville totally disappeared, as by arraying himself against Toussaint's overshadowing ascendancy he could not but fall into disgrace; and his insignificance became complete except with those who were employed about his person at Cape Francois, the French strangers in the island, and those who, determined in their adherence to France, sought to maintain executive power in the hands of her agent. Meantime Toussaint, secure as he was of final triumph over all his rivals, went on diligently to perfect his plans, and effect the entire overthrow of all competition against him.

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